The Open Court

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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler.

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POPE BENEDICT XV.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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PROFESSOR ERNST MACH.

ON Tuesday, March 28, we received from Dr. Ludwig Mach of Munich, the sad news that, after a brief struggle, his father, Professor Ernst Mach, had died of a weakened heart on February 19, the day after his seventy-eighth birthday.

Lying among the branches of the fir-trees under which of late he had loved to spend his time, in his left hand the cane which was his faithful companion for the last sixteen years, and on his head a laurel wreath woven by the hands of his daughter, Professor Mach's body was given to the flames in utter stillness on the morning of February 22. As long ago as October, 1899, when Professor Mach experienced the first severe stroke of paralysis he prepared the following message to be delivered to his friends at the time of his death:

Bei seinem Scheiden aus dem Leben grüsst

PROFESSOR ERNST MACH

alle die sich seiner erinnern und bittet um ein freundliches, *heiteres* Andenken. Das Begräbniss findet nach Anordnung des Verstorbenen im engsten Familienkreise statt. Blumenspenden und Grabreden werden dankend abgelehnt; um stilles Beileid für die Familie wird gebeten.

(Translation.)

In taking leave of life

PROFESSOR ERNST MACH

sends greeting to all his friends and asks them to hold him in kindly and cheerful memory. At the request of the deceased the funeral will take place in the presence of the intimate family circle. Gifts of flowers and funeral addresses will be appreciatively declined. Your silent sympathy is entreated for the family.

THE POPE AND HIS CRITICS.

BY J. MATTERN.

"....Le pape Benedictus ayant maudit l'Antéchrist, il sera proclamé que ceux qui le combattent se trouvent en état de grâce et, s'ils meurent, vont au ciel tout droit, comme les martyrs...On reconnaîtra l'Antéchrist à plusieurs traits...il aura un aigle dans ses armes et il y en a un aussi dans celles de son acolyte, l'autre mauvais monarque. Mais celui-là est chrétien, et il mourra de la malédiction du pape Benedictus, qui sera élu au début du règne de l'Antéchrist...."—*Prophétie du frère Johannès, XVII^e siècle,* from *Les Prédictions sur la fin de l'Allemagne réunies et commentées par R. d'Arman.*

ROBERT DELL in "The Vatican and the War"[1] admits that when the news of Cardinal Giacomo della Chiesa's election to the office of St. Peter reached France "the French press congratulated itself on his alleged Francophile tendencies, and some of the more adventurous papers formed more or less fantastic anticipations of his possible action." "A few days later," so Dell continues, "the absurd report was circulated that the new pope was about to issue an encyclical on the war, in which he would declare that the responsibility for it rested on Germany," and "other reports equally baseless followed."

The unbiased observer will find in these admissions the psychological basis for the genuine disappointment caused in France and England by the attitude of a pope who was expected to be Francophile, but who was found to be wanting in such a qualification; by the silence of a pope who, as the prophet had been made to forecast, would hurl his anathema in the face of William II, the Antichrist, his ally, the other "bad monarch," and their hordes of barbarians.

[1] *Fortnightly Review,* Feb., 1915.

Years ago Dr. Della Chiesa had attracted the late Cardinal Rampolla's attention, and when the latter was appointed apostolic nuncio to the court of Spain he invited his *protégé* to accompany him as his secretary. Their relations at Madrid and later on in Rome are described in an article by Dr. E. J. Dillon, "The Pope and the Belligerents."[2] "In this capacity," so we read, "the young priest had an opportunity, which he utilized to the full, of familiarizing himself with the modes of thought, the tactics, and the methods of his eminent chief, whose trusted confidant he soon became. Promoted in 1887 to the post of secretary of state, Cardinal Rampolla took Monsignore della Chiesa for his private secretary, and later on Leo XIII testified his appreciation of his services by appointing him adjoint state secretary."

It is this patronage bestowed on Giacomo della Chiesa by Cardinal Rampolla and the undisguised recognition of Chiesa's attachment and services to his chief that had given rise to the illusion that he must, as a matter of course, have adopted his protector's strong and well-known favoritism for France.

However the illusion has been short-lived. The French and English verdict is that Benedict XV is not only not strong enough in his Francophile leanings, but that he has no such leanings at all. Indignation and anger at the realization of such an apparently very distressing truth have prompted Dr. Dillon, that knight of the poisoned pen, to accuse Cardinal della Chiesa of having simulated in the conclave the Francophile tendencies accredited to him, in order to win the French and Belgian cardinals' votes, while the German and Austrian prelates had been won by secretly apprising them of his real attitude toward France.[3] Dillon's only attempt to prove this contemptible calumny is the glib assertion that "almost immediately after his accession to the Fisherman's chair he appointed the worldly Austrian churchman to the post of *participante* and the office of intimate counsellor to himself." This "worldly" Austrian churchman is Monsignor Gerlach, according to Dillon "one of the most compromising associates and dangerous mentors that any sovereign ever admitted to his privacy." Dillon is very careful to state that Monsignor Gerlach is "described"...."as a man....of German Christianity, who when in Vienna consorted with ecclesiastics of the type depicted by Poggio and incarnated by French abbés of the free and easy days of the Regency, when many an

[2] *The Contemporary Review,* May, 1915.

[3] "Italy's New Birth," *The Fortnightly Review,* July, 1915.

ecclesiastic practised the rule of the monks of the Screw, of which the first ran:

> "My children, be chaste—till you're tempted;
> When sober, be wise and discreet;
> And humble your bodies with fasting
> Whenever you've nothing to eat."

"Years ago," so Dillon continues his denunciation of Gerlach—and by innuendo of the pope—"the story runs [again he is careful—he lets the "story run"], Gerlach made the acquaintance of a worldly-minded papal nuntius in the fashionable salons of gay Vienna, and, being of similar tastes and proclivities, the two enjoyed life together, eking out the wherewithal for their costly amusements in speculations on the exchange.... Some years ago Gerlach's name emerged above the surface of private life in Rome in connection with what the French term *un drame passionel,* which led to violent scenes in public and to a number of duels later on." With a brazenness usually found only where conscientiousness has ceased to be a virtue Dillon ventures to assert that the only qualifications of Monsignor Gerlach for the position to which the pope has appointed him were the "Pan-Germanism of the favorite and his intimate knowledge of the *accommodements qu'il y a avec le ciel.*"

Quite a different view on the subject of papal appointments is expressed in the following passage from *Current Opinion,* Oct., 1914: "Observers of the situation at the Vatican insist that the appointments of Benedict XV, few as they have been, indicate a complete departure from the [alleged pro-German] policy of the last pontificate." The policy of the last pontificate was that of Pius X, and especially that of his secretary of state, Mery del Val. Of Mery del Val's administration one Giovanni Pioli[4] says that it was "unscrupulous, cynically dishonest," a "forge of Macchiavellism," that it was "conducted by all available means—from corruption by money in order to induce delation of friends, and misuse of confession in order to discover modernists, to the systematic disfigurement of truth, the habitual belying of public utterances and private engagements, the misrepresentation of the intentions even of such respectable bodies as that of the 'Assembly of the French Bishops' and the question of the 'Cultuelles' "—and in addition to all this it was, as Dell informs us, "pro-German."

Commenting on Cardinal Della Chiesa's election to the chair of St. Peter, *Current Opinion,* Oct., 1914, finds that with the ap-

[4] *Contemporary Review,* Oct., 1914.

pointment of Cardinal Domenico Ferrata (the intimate friend of Cardinal Mercier, the present prelate of Belgium), as Benedict's secretary of state, all this was changed, for "the significance of the conspicuous position assumed by Cardinal Ferrata in the new pontificate is due to his championship of the French republic always and everywhere." And while Dillon in ill-disguised wrath designates as the "pope's mentor and guide through the labyrinth of intellectual politics" the "worldly Austrian churchman" Gerlach, "this man of violent Pan-German sentiments," *Current Opinion* considers Ferrata, the champion of "the French republic always and everywhere," as "the adviser of the new pope in all that relates to international affairs." Of the "Austrian churchman" Gerlach and his past and present activities we know, aside from Dillon's gossip, next to nothing;[5] of Ferrata we do know that his secretaryship lasted about one month, for he died on October 10, 1914.

The encyclical, so eagerly awaited by the French and English, appeared. It was however no thundering bull excommunicating old Emperor Francis Joseph, nor did it absolve the German Catholics from their oath of allegiance to William II, the heretic, the Antichrist, or as Dillon so lovingly calls him, Attila's admirer and imitator. Nay! In it his Holiness did not even consent to do the Allies that small favor of declaring "that the responsibility for it [the war] rested on Germany." One can hardly appreciate the extent and bitterness of the Allies', and especially France's, disappointment at the pope's obstreperousness, unless one takes into consideration the amazing yet undeniable fact that the French, high and low, seem to have actually relied on the new pope to act in accordance with what the prophets of the past and near past were supposed or said to have predicted he would do to the "Antichrist" with the "eagle in his arms" and to his "acolyte, the other bad monarch." Among the scores of French books on "the war of to-morrow," issued during the last twenty years by French civilians and high officers of the army, there are not a few in which the optimistic view of a French victory over Germany is based on prophecy. One of the most illuminating creations of this character is a brochure published about three years ago, entitled *La fin de l'empire d'Allemagne. La bataille du Champ des Bouleaux,* by Commandant de Civrieux, with a preface by Commandant Driant, Deputy of Nancy. On its cover this charming booklet bears the reproduction of a "memorial tablet"

[5] His name is not found in the list of officials of the Catholic hierarchy as given in *The Catholic Directory* (Complete edition). New York: P. J. Kennedy.

showing, below a conspicuous cross, the following tell-tale inscription:

"Ainsi
En l'an 191..
Selon les prédictions de la
Célèbre Prophétie de Strasbourg
Au Champ des Bouleaux
En Westphalie
Une génération et demie après sa fondation
Périt
Avec le troisième et dernier Kaiser
L'empire allemand des Hohenzollern."[6]

The same pamphlet announces the issue of another of these silent but striking proofs of French mental aberration.

Les prédictions sur la fin de l'Allemagne, réunies et commentées par R. D'Arman is the title of a collection of all that could be distorted into a prediction of Germany's downfall and the end of the Hohenzollern dynasty as Germany's reigning house, covering the ground from Civrieux's aforementioned prophecy of Herman of Strasburg of the thirteenth century down to Admiral Nogi's utterance of Port Arthur fame and Madame de Thèbes's annual almanac contributions. The bottomless depth of naïveté, a naïveté found among other nations only in their kindergartens and among the senile and insane, is revealed in the preface which in all earnestness admits that "William II and his people have known better than anybody the predictions made concerning the present war and concerning the end of their empire....and that even this knowledge has not hindered the Kaiser and the crown prince from forcing us to enter the present conflict!" How deep-rooted French reliance and belief in these prophecies is can be judged from another gem found in the same preface. Here it is: "Considered in their totality the predictions which we cite in this work suggest a remark still more elevating and encouraging for France: So many prophecies from sources so varied, so old, as if they were the consequence of an identical tendency, and as if, in this case, they demonstrated that there existed in the world throughout the course of centuries a universal, immutable opinion essentially favorable to France against her enemies. This is indeed *une force immense*."

[6] "Thus, according to the predictions of the famous prophet of Strasburg, perished on the Birchfield in Westphalia the German empire of the Hohenzollern wth its third and last Kaiser in the year 191.., a generation and a half after its foundation."

One of the prophecies found in D'Arman's "work," that by "Frère Johannès" (1600), contains this passage: "One will no more see priests and monks hold confessions and absolve the combattants; first, because for the first time priests and monks will fight with the other citizens, and then because the pope Benedictus, having cursed the Antichrist, will proclaim that those who combat him [the Antichrist] will be in a state of grace and, if killed, will go right to heaven like the martyrs.

"The Bull [the expected and disappointing encyclical] that will proclaim these things will reverberate far and wide; it will revive courage and it will cause the death of the ally of the Antichrist.

"One will know the Antichrist by various signs....He will bear in his arms an eagle, and an eagle will be found in those of his acolyte, the other bad monarch.

"The latter, however, is a Christian [a Catholic] and he will die in consequence of the malediction of Pope Benedictus who will be elected at the close of the reign of the Antichrist."

As the world is aware, the present pope, Benedict XV, has failed to act true to "prophecy." Hence the maddening effect upon the disappointed Allies caused by the encyclical which did not contain a malediction for nor an incrimination of the Central Powers. In fact, most of the critics of the encyclical, on the Allies' side, see in it an unveiled accusation that France and her allies are responsible for the war. It is however hard to see how anything but a guilty conscience could justify such an interpretation. The encyclical *Ad Beatissimi* enumerates as the causes of the war: Lack of mutual and sincere love among men; contempt of authority; injustice on the part of one class of people toward another; and the consideration of material welfare as the sole object of human activity. Commenting on these causes of the war as designated by the pope a more or less impartial American critic, the *Brooklyn Eagle,* observes:[7] "The pope knows of course that it is obedience to temporal authority that makes men fight. By 'contempt of authority' he means the denial of a divine standard of morals and conduct. That the lack of love and social injustice exist and have their effect on the minds of all men cannot be denied. But the fourth cause stated, in a sense, includes all others." The *Brooklyn Eagle*, as is apparent, does not construe the causes given in the encyclical as a plain or veiled accusation of the Allies, in fact it unmistakably shows that it considers the pope's statements as an impartial arraignment of all that is and all that are subject to criticism. "If material

[7] *Literary Digest,* Dec. 5, 1914.

welfare were the sole object of human activity," so the *Eagle* continues, "then Germany might well think, as she does, that her vast army should be used at the psychological moment to make safe her trade predominance, and England might well think that she should seize the psychological moment to crush the trade of Germany. The pope is right. Our ideals are defective. And from defective ideals all evils spring."

Robert Dell, in the article quoted above, takes a different view, a view characteristic of the criticism voiced in the countries forming the new "Holy Alliance." "Catholic writers," so he opines, "have said as little about it [the encyclical] as they could help, and they seem to be generally agreed that it had better be consigned to oblivion as soon as possible. From their point of view they are right enough, for the encyclical makes it obvious on which side are the pope's sympathies during the present war. As M. Julien de Narfon remarked in the *Figaro,* it is a little strange that the pope should attribute the war to a lack of respect for authority, seeing that in Germany respect for authority is, if anything, exaggerated. It would be more than a little strange if the pope were not on the side of Germany and Austria, as he obviously is. The encyclical is a scarcely veiled attack on France and, in a lesser degree, on England and Belgium. The whole burden is that the crimes of democracy are the 'root cause' of the war; the democratic countries engaged in the war are France, England and Belgium. That France is particularly aimed at is patent. Which of the belligerent nations has separated itself from 'the Holy Religion of Jesus Christ,' that is, from the Roman church? France. In which, more than any other, have men proclaimed (in papal language) 'that striving after brotherhood is one of the greatest gifts of modern civilization, ignoring the teaching of the gospel, and setting aside the work of Christ and his church'? In France. In which has socialism taken the strongest hold and class antagonism been keenest? In France. In which have 'the plastic minds of children been moulded in godless schools'? In France. In which have Catholic bishops consistently denounced the 'bad press'? In France." These views of what France is or is not do not however agree with the picture Dr. Dillon[8] places before us. "Welcoming the accession of a friend and disciple of Rampolla's," so Dillon writes, "they imagined he would at once change the orientation of the Vatican policy toward France and the Triple Entente. In France the outbreak and progress of the war coincided with a general revival of religion among the

[8] "The Pope and the Belligerents," *Contemporary Review,* May, 1915.

people, which was fomented by the patriotic demeanor of the bishops and the clergy. Some of the most brilliant French generals were known to be devout Catholics. Many of the most daring soldiers were French priests. Cardinal Amette, the archbishop of Paris, proved one of the truest exponents of the patriotism that thrilled all French hearts. In a word, the ground was cleared as it had not been for half a century, and all that was needed was an enterprising pope to have it cultivated. But Benedict XV acted on the maxim that the weal of the whole church which unites all belligerent catholics in its fold must be preferred to the well-being of a part. Sympathy he feels for each and all, but he cannot allow the working of either sympathy or indignation visibly to influence his relations with the peoples who are its objects. He is their spiritual chief, not their political leader!" Dillon here states unmistakably that the pope considers himself to be and has acted as the spiritual chief of all the nations at war and not as their political leader. Dillon therefore must and does produce reasons other than political for the pope's alleged leanings toward the Central Powers. So he reminds his readers of the fact that at the outbreak of the war the "Allied Powers were practically unrepresented at the Vatican. . . . The Teutons, on the contrary, were in force." Hence he thinks that "most of the information respecting the diplomatic negotiations which preceded the rupture and setting forth the position and aims of Germany and her ally, reached the organs of the Vatican after having been filtered and colored by these interested agents," and that "there was no corrective available." "If," so he continues, "we add to this decisive fact the circumstance that the story thus told was also the narrative which was calculated to meet the wishes of those who heard it, we cannot affect surprise at the strong Germanophile leanings which are still noticeable at the Vatican." However Dr. Dillon realizes and admits that naturally the pope's interest should lie with the Catholic Hapsburg monarchy rather than with schismatic England and Russia, that the latter especially was viewed with disfavor on account of its undeniable hatred for Catholicism and particularly because its representative at the Vatican could hardly find an excuse for Russia's untimely "work of conversion" in the newly conquered province of Galicia. It is true that "at the eleventh hour the British government bestirred itself and sent Sir Henry Howard as minister and plenipotentiary extraordinary to represent British interests at the Vatican. . . . but his task was rendered extremely difficult long before it was set him." Dr. Dillon considers "this mission" as "opportune" and states that "the work it has ac-

complished has been rapid and useful." But on this point the Allies' sages are again at odds. Dell is of the opinion that the Vatican, in order to stand in well with the Allies in the improbable event of their victory, "has made desperate efforts to enter into diplomatic relations with England and France in order, when the time comes, to put forward its claims," and that "the English government, with the extraordinary simplicity that English governments invariably show in dealing with the Vatican, has allowed itself to be duped." He believes that "if Sir Henry Howard has really gone to Rome merely to lay the case for the Allies before the pope, his mission will be as useless as it is undignified." The same critic disagrees most fundamentally with Dillon on the reasons for the pope's alleged pro-German leanings. He suggests that the pope's personal views in the matter have no bearings on his or rather the Vatican's public stand. To him the pope is and must be first of all a *politician* who places the Vatican's interest and welfare above all, even above his conscience. That is at least what I read out of the following:

"Whatever the personal sympathies of Cardinal della Chiesa may have been—and there is no particular reason to believe that they were especially Francophile—Benedict XV is bound to consider the interests of the papacy. The policy of the Vatican will only be understood when it is realized that the papacy is bound by its principles to put self-preservation and the maintenance of its domination before everything else..... But this is the logical consequence of the whole theory of the papacy, which identifies religion with itself, so that its own interests become the highest interests in religion. If it were true that the guardianship of divine revelation had been committed to the pope and that its existence in the world depended on the existence of the papacy, it would follow that the papacy must consider first its own preservation, even if it involved losing a whole nation to the church or drenching the world in blood. No disaster could be so great as the disappearance of the papacy. This is the key to the policy of the Vatican." While so far Dell differs from Dillon, the two agree on the reasons why the Vatican, whatever its principles and inner motives may be, must in the present war find the "interests of the papacy" in a "victory for Germany and Austria." "There is," so Dell admits, "not a single Catholic country among the Allies, for, although Belgium has a Catholic government at present, half the Belgian people are freethinkers. England is heretical. Russia, Serbia and Montenegro are schismatic; Japan is pagan, and France is freethinking. Austria, on the other hand, is the only great Catholic power left in the world, and her downfall would be a disastrous

blow to the papacy. Should the Austrian empire break up, Spain would be the only Catholic state left. It is impossible that the papacy should contemplate such a possibility wthout dismay." But there is another valiant pro-Allies critic who on this point most decidedly contradicts both Dillon and Dell; it is Stephen Graham, the champion of "Holy" Russia. In his recent marvelous book, *Russia and the World*,[9] page 194, he pronounces, with an air that permits of no questioning, "the fact" that "Rome stands to gain far more from the success of the Allies than from German domination." "German success," so he asserts, "means a stronger Protestant influence in the world generally—it means certainly a stronger influence in Austria; even the unification of the German and Austrian empires is possible. On the other hand the success of Russia means, or ought to mean, I presume, the establishment of the Poles as a nation once more, though under the protection of the Czar." Graham pretends to believe, and asks the world to do the same, that "what Rome has lost in France she can make up in autonomous Poland (and autonomous Ireland) when once the war has ended in the dispersal of the German dream of empire." For "Poland, if restored, would be a great Roman Catholic country" and "of that there can be no doubt."

An American Catholic priest, requested by the *Outlook* to give his views on the election of Benedict XV, sums up the situation as follows: "If Germany should win and enslave Europe, he [the pope] will have to contend with the same arrogant spirit that created the Falk laws and the *Kulturkampf*. Should the Allies prove victorious, Rome will be most intimately brought in contact with the overwhelming power of the Greek Orthodox church, its most deadly enemy. The triumph of Russia will sound the death knell of Roman Catholicism in Europe...." (*The Outlook*, Sept. 9, 1914). The American reverend's fear that a victorious Germany might enslave the world could easily be banished by a little study of Germany's policy and aspirations from sources other than the London-New York press and disconnected and falsified citations from Treitschke, Nietzsche and Bernhardi. The assumption that the history of the Falk laws and the *Kulturkampf* could repeat itself to-day is an error explicable and excusable only by the reverend's apparent lack of appreciation of the strength of the German Catholic population and the force of its representation in the Reichstag. That Russia's triumph would "sound the death-knell of Roman Catholicism in Europe" has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the

[9] New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

religious persecutions practised during her short occupancy of a section of ancient Poland, and it is this ill-treatment of Catholic Galicia that refutes Graham's utterly insincere claim that the Catholicism of Poland would be respected by a victorious Russia. Interesting and instructive in this connection is a pamphlet issued in London four months before the outbreak of the war (re-issued in this country in 1915 with additional evidence) by Vladimir Stepankovsky, a Ukranian from Russia.[10] Stepankovsky reveals in detail the astounding fact that Russia, for years before the war, has been carrying on in Austrian territory a well-developed secret political and religious campaign aimed at the seizure of Galicia by a *coup d'état.* Valentin Gorlof in his *Origines et bases de l'alliance Franco-Russe* (Paris, 1913), attempts to belittle Russia's treasonable activity in another man's land, Galicia. He attempts to turn the tables, charging that "Austria, through her persecution of the Orthodox, and seeing everywhere Russian intrigues," has succeeded in making out of Galicia a "Russian Alsace-Lorraine." Gorlof's flippant reference to Galicia as a Russian Alsace-Lorraine and his assertion, unsupported by anything like proof, that Austria had persecuted the Orthodox in Galicia or in the Bukowina have been effectively answered by the findings of the various Ruthenian treason trials of 1913 and 1914, and by Stepankovsky's revelations. To speak of the Ruthenians of Galicia as Orthodox is nothing short of a misrepresentation. According to Stepankovsky "nine-tenths of the Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary belong to the Greek Catholic or Uniate church. The Ruthenian Greek Catholic church, although it employs, in common with the Orthodox, the Eastern Rite, in dogma is at one with the church of Rome....it preserves the marriage of the clergy, yet is subject to the pope." It was among these Greek Catholic Ruthenians, subject to the pope, that Count Bobrinsky and his associates carried on their proselyting and "contrived to effect some conversions among the illiterate peasants of the remote, mountainous regions." Finally Antonius of the Russian province Volhynia proclaimed himself the Orthodox bishop of Galicia. It was of such conditons and of the widespread political Pan-Slav propaganda that the Austrian government through the Ruthenian treason trials attempted to make an end when the war broke out and when Galicia for a time came under the actual rule of the Czar. Count Bobrinsky, the former agitator, was made governor general of the conquered province. In his "inaugural

[10] *The Russian Plot to Seize Galicia* (*Austrian Ruthenia*), 2d ed. The Ukranian National Council, Jersey City, N. J., 1915.

address" he informed the mayor of Lemberg of the "leading principles of my policy." Lemberg and eastern Galicia he considered as the "real origin of Great Russia." Hence: "the reorganization will be based on Russian ideals." Hence: "we will immediately introduce the Russian language and Russian customs." Hence: Archbishop Sheptitsky, Catholic primate of Lemberg, was arrested and deported, and the Russian Orthodox bishop Euloge occupied Sheptitsky's seat. Even Dr. Dillon ("The Pope and the Belligerents") admits that "history is there to attest Russia's uniform hatred of Catholicism," that "the chronicle of daily life in the newly conquered province of Galicia contains abundant evidence that the spirit of aggressive proselytism is still rampant," and that "the present governor of Galicia is a Russian whose name has a sinister sound in Catholic ears." Church dignitaries in Rome, so Dillon states, have asked this ominous question: "Was it necessary ....that he should depose a Ruthenian bishop and send him into exile? Even as a matter of policy was it not incumbent on him to defer the 'work of conversion' until military occupation had passed into annexation and avoid giving Russia's enemies a lethal weapon against her?....But if at the present unseasonable moment the authorities of Czardom indulge in religious presecution at such loss of prestige to themselves, what may we not expect when it can be organized without any risk or fear of effectual protest?"..A Catholic Poland, if a united Poland should ever be placed under Russian suzerainty? No, Mr. Graham's assurances to that effect will hardly be taken seriously among his own following. "Russia," to quote Dillon, "therefore finds little favor at the Vatican."

Further cause for the most violent criticism is found in the passage of the encyclical in which the pontiff joins "to the desire of a speedy peace among nations....also the desire for the cessation of the abnormal conditions in which the head of the church is placed and which is in many respects very harmful to the tranquillity of the people themselves," or still another passage in which, as Dell is pleased to express it, the pope "raises once more the old parrot-cry that the papacy is not free," when Benedict complains that "for a long time past the church has not enjoyed that full freedom which it needs—never since the sovereign pontiff, its head, was deprived of that protection which by divine Providence had in the course of ages been set up to defend that freedom..." The phrase of the "prisoner in the Vatican" is too well known, and so is the fact that the pope is virtually a prisoner too well established to permit of a denial. Still Dell claims that "the effrontery of asking the world to believe

that the papacy is not free at a moment when a conclave has just been held at Rome in the middle of a European war, free for the first time for centuries from any outside interference, takes one's breath away." Be it remembered that the conclave was held when Italy was still at peace and that when Italy entered the war the Teutonic representatives left the Vatican, taking up residence in Switzerland. Italian statesmen of late have asserted that this step was due to the pope's decision and not to a demand or pressure from the Italian government. While it must be admitted that so far the Italian government's attitude toward the Vatican has been tolerant it is equally true that Article 11 of the Italian guarantee law merely affords protection for the diplomatic intercourse of the Vatican with foreign powers for the time when Italy is at peace, and that in time of war Italy may by legislative act revoke that guarantee. In fact during the parliamentary debate on the guarantee law Deputy Corte in an amendment expressly demanded the abolition of all diplomatic privileges of the pope in time of war. However the chamber declared the question to be superfluous. Hence the pope's decision has proved to be wise. To this we must all the more readily agree when we read the savage criticism of the pope's attitude by Dillon.[11] "When"—so Dillon thunders—"[in addition to the representatives of Prussia, Bavaria and Austria] harmless foreigners like the learned head of the Benedictines and the pious priest Ledochowski [general of the Jesuits]—both men who eschew politics—were admonished to quit the kingdom of Italy as subjects of a belligerent enemy, the pope covered the Austrian plot-weaver [the same Gerlach whom Dillon considers the pope's all-powerful adviser] with his protecting wing, shares with him the exterritoriality of the Vatican, allows him to communicate in cipher with the band of Austrians and Germans who are watching and praying in Swiss Lugano, and is content to survey international politics through the distorting medium of his Pan-Germanism."

The remarks of a London daily, made prior to the death of the late pope,[12] will suffice to silence Dell's and Dillon's criticism. This is what the London paper had to say on the subject: "The presence of pope and king side by side in Rome would probably be more embarrassing to both parties were the pontiff to issue forth from the Vatican than is the existing arrangement where there is no conflict of jurisdiction or influence. But we have seen from the late illness of Pius X that the 'incarceration' of a man of active

[11] "Italy's New Birth," *Fortnightly Review,* July, 1915.

[12] *Current Opinion,* Oct., 1914.

habits in a not overhealthy palace year in and year out is detrimental, nay more, may be fatal, to the unhappy victim. Many a medieval pope died of the wintry cold of the Lateran; modern pontiffs, unless they have the frame of a Leo XIII, may succumb to the summer heat of the Vatican, with their eyes longingly fixed on that cool and breezy papal villa in the Alban Hills, which is 'so near and yet so far.' Nor is this 'imprisonment' in the Vatican detrimental to health alone; it has exercised an adverse effect upon the policy, and especially the foreign policy, of the Holy See. A pope who cannot travel, who cannot have free intercourse outside with all sorts and conditions of men, is naturally cut off from valuable means of information and becomes inevitably inclined to take the views of his environment. Under existing conditions the head of a universal church has all the disadvantages of a sovereign who cannot, like Harun-al-Raschid, go about and hear, alike for reasons of health and for reasons of statesmanship; but tradition dies hard there, and sufficient time has not yet elapsed for a new pope to arise who knew not the days of the temporal power." That the pope's reference to the church's "abnormal position" need not be interpreted as a demand for the reestablishment of temporal power is seen from the views expressed in the New York *Nation* of Jan. 7, 1915. "The language," so the passage reads, "is guarded and moderate, and....it contains nothing that need be interpreted as anti-Italian or temporalistic. The statement that the Holy See is now in an equivocal and abnormal position, against which Catholics the world over have not ceased to protest, and that its liberties have been (somewhat) compromised and its freedom of action (somewhat) curtailed, is only the plain truth. If a claim of the temporal power be involved, it is only by indirection and interpretation."

Furthermore the Catholic church's views regarding the reestablishment of the Holy See's temporal power are not the same as they were a generation ago. There can be no doubt that the Catholic world would view the re-erection of the papal states in their old extent as an anomaly, even a papal Rome cannot be considered as in the scope of possibility or even desirability. There must be and there will be an amelioration of the intolerable position of the Holy See, but what that amelioration is to be is a question too large to be discussed in this connection. Dell is of the opinion that "there is....good reason to believe that Germany and Austria have pledged themselves, if not to restore the Temporal Power, at least to give some satisfaction to the papacy" and that "they would not

be sorry to humiliate Italy."[13] There is indeed good reason to believe that Germany and Austria will see to it that "some satisfaction" be given to the pope when peace terms are settled, but it will not be in the desire and spirit of "humiliating" Italy.

Last, but not least, must be considered the criticism leveled at his Holiness because he "remained silent" while all the rest of the world grew hysterical about the stories of "alleged German atrocities," the victims being, as the pope's critics have it, "mostly Roman Catholic men and women." Francis Tyrell has outdone all in his brochure, *The Pope and the Great War. The Silence of Benedict XV. Can It Be Defended?* His "pamphlet for thinking people of all denominations," as he calls it, contains twenty-two pages of the most scathing arraignment of the pope, and nine pages of "extracts from the official records" of alleged "German atrocities in France and Belgium," each extract being followed by Tyrell's indictment of Benedict XV in the form of the refrain: "And the pope is silent." Tyrell tries for effect by contrasting the dignity of the office and the failings of its present incumbent. Such extolling of the Holy See by a non-Catholic Englishman would appear to those who know English church history as almost comical were it not for the fact that the subject matter is too serious to permit one to hold Mr. Tyrell up to sheer ridicule. Thus I shall confine myself to a mere *reductio ad absurdum.*

What nation has ever vilified and besmirched "popery" as England has done? However it is not "popery" of which Tyrell speaks—it suits his purpose to use the more dignified terms "popedom," "papacy," "vicarage of Christ," "ambassadorship of God." It is the individual who occupies the exalted office whom he flays. The same "inmates of nunneries" who for centuries have been called names too vile to repeat, now, for the sake of argument, become "nuns" and "holy women." The same "tools of popery" of the past are now spoken of as "priests" and "venerable cardinals." The same "popery" which in times gone by has been accused of having sent out its robed servants to murder, by the administration of the poisoned eucharist or by other means equally foul and effective, disobedient kings, queens and suspected dignitaries of the church, the same "popery" now, when it is needed to serve the former accuser, is appealed to as the "supreme arbiter of truth and morals," as the

[13] According to an Associated Press despatch of Jan., 1914, the *Corriere d'Italia,* a Catholic organ, has in what is considered as an "inspired" article disclaimed any intention on the part of the pope to "count upon the European conflict for the solution of the Roman question, which, as Cardinal Gaspari said, will not be solved by force of arms."

"power. . . that. . . expresses the rule of Christ upon the earth," whose duties are recognized to be none less than to "act and conform to and do all things on earth as the representative of, and in the spirit of. . . . [its] Master were He in the flesh again." The same "popery" whose bulls used to elicit nothing but mockery and curse are now eagerly awaited and demanded in order to "make the lords of war tremble with fear and impotence."

Tyrell in scorn and wrath proclaims "the cold and frightful fact. . . . that the pope—the greatest personage in the world—has not had the courage to raise his voice against the greatest wrong that has ever been perpetrated by one nation upon another—the violation and the ruin of Belgium"; that "the pope through motives of fear or policy has failed to condemn a monstrous international crime, and he has kept a sphinxlike peace while solemn neutrality treaties and Hague conventions were being reduced to worthless and discarded papers"; that "in the Belgian atrocities the pope has had all the material for such a protest [the expected encyclical] and condemnation"; that "if the spiritual driving force of the Catholic church is to be throttled by the worldly diplomacy of nuncios and the careful consideration of the 'war chances' of the respective belligerents, then the spiritual potency of the Catholic church is in a bad way"; that "the rationalists and the hostile critics of religion will put the whole Christian system on its trial"; that "they will single out the Roman church and its attitude throughout the war as a striking example of how far the Christians of this century have strayed from the path of Christ"; that "they will assert with damning conviction that at a time of the greatest crisis the world has ever known, at a time when every voice and every influence for the cause of civilization and humanity was of immeasurable value, the 'sitter in St. Peter's chair' remained dumb and made no protest to the world against the armored German giant when he trampled a little nation in the dust and violated all the sacred obligations which alone preserve the civilized peoples of the world from dissolving into anarchy and barbarism."

This line of argument and this kind of abuse seem to be the favorites of most of the pope's critics. One R. B. C. Sheridan, in an article, "The Vatican and the War," Part II,[14] comes dangerously close to disputing Tyrell's place as the chief warrior against the pope. Both however, and in fact all of their lesser fellow warriors, are admonished by none less than the Right Reverend Monsignor

[14] *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Oct., 1915.

Canon Moyes, D.D.,[15] who maintains that "a papal condemnation shall be founded in the security of truth and justice," that "it must be based upon facts that are judicially verified," and that "it cannot rest upon mere press presentment of evidence, or upon common rumor or report, or upon depositions of *ex parte* witnesses, however respectable, or upon any process which would neglect *audi alteram partem*, or would include the yea of the complainants while excluding the nay of the accused." Although Monsignor Moyes has an altogether unjustified belief in the convincing evidence of the Bryce report, he admits that "however much the pope may be personally convinced, if he is to act officially and judicially it is plain that he cannot base an accusation upon what is, despite its excellence, an *ex parte* statement, emanating from one side only of the belligerent parties"; in fact Monsignor Moyes goes so far as to concede that "if the case were reversed, and if—*per impossibile*—our [the English] troops had been accused of similar excesses, the Catholics of the British empire would have felt it keenly—more keenly than one could easily put into words!—if the Holy See had proceeded to launch a public denunciation against the honor of our army solely on the strength of a report drawn up by our adversaries."

These reasons suggested by the Rev. J. Moyes are indeed the same that his Holiness through his secretary of state and in person has advanced. Under the heading, "Is England Trying to Force the Pope's Hand?" the *Literary Digest* for July 31, 1915, reports that "by recent newspaper dispatches it appears that Great Britain and Belgium are in the mood to force an issue with the Vatican. Sir Henry Howard, the British envoy....has proffered a demand that the pope condemn the sinking of the Lusitania and Germany's submarine warfare against merchant ships in general, also that he condemn the use of asphyxiating gases and the bombardment of unfortified coast towns....The Belgian envoy, it is said, represents to Cardinal Gaspari, the papal secretary of state, that now is the opportune time for the pontiff's voice to be heard, and Belgium demands of the pope that he condemn Germany's violation of her neutrality....'deploring the German atrocities and characterizing them as unjustified'"....To this Cardinal Gaspary replied as quoted: "The Holy See, which is unable to make inquiry, finds itself unable to decide. In the present case however the German chancellor recognizes that it was a violation of international law, although declaring that it was legitimatized by military necessity.

[15] *Ibid.*, Part I.

Hence the invasion of Belgium was included in the consistorial allocution of January 22 reproving every injustice." Anent this reference to the mentioning of the invasion of Belgian territory in the allocution of January, 1915, Monsignor Moyes admits that "if this be so, it would follow that the pope has not only gone far but, if anything, even farther than he was bound to go, in condemnation of the violated neutrality," and he adds that "the Belgian minister himself, Baron Von Heuvel, recognized that the pope 'could go no further.'" Still, R. B. C. Sheridan announces that "the papal theory has been tried by a supreme test and has been found wanting." He is of the opinion that "the Roman church in France and Belgium will never completely recover from the blow caused by the revelation that the See of Peter had, at the crucial moment, no publishable opinions upon the martyrdom of Belgium," and he even advises Belgium and France to punish the pope "by taking the necessary steps to emancipate themselves from his tutelage" and by "a shrewd guess" he sees a close union of the Anglican and Gallic churches with that of Russia. "The Russian religion"—so he proclaims—"is available as a model for the restoration of autonomous French and Belgian national churches, which, freed from papal obstruction, could apply themselves to the task of reconsidering the dogmatic accretions which would still hereafter separate the Western church from the Orthodox East." Mgr. Moyes, as has been seen, recognizes the justness of Cardinal Gaspari's reply when he grants that "it is upon....qualifying facts that the morality of the atrocity facts depends," that "many of them by their very nature are of a class that cannot be arrived at without investigation and, in some cases, investigation of a kind which exceeds the reach or even the competency of a papal tribunal." Mgr. Moyes here especially refers to Germany's plea that her violation of Belgian neutrality was forced upon her by military necessity. It is patent that a condemnation of Germany's act by the pope would have to rest on the denial of the "necessity." However such a decision could be reached only with the knowledge of the "whole diplomatic history not only during the crisis in 1914 but during the last fifteen years which led up to it—a *dossier* of which much is necessarily not known to the general public." It is indeed encouraging to see a man of Mgr. Moyes's affiliations[16] state that "it is hardly to be wondered at that Benedict XV, or any pope in his

[16] James Moyes, D.D., of the Metropolitan Chapter, London, Archdiocese of Westminster. *The Catholic Directory* (Compl. ed.), New York, P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1915.

place, should decline to commit himself to such a blundering excursion into the region of political judgments," and that "what is to be wondered at—and it is the paradox of the present position—is that the pope should be invited to make this particular escapade by critics who are usually the first to resent above all things the intervention of the spiritual power in politics." Monsignor Moyes has thus answered the question better than many wish it to be answered.—*Sapienti sat!*

Even the pope's efforts in behalf of peace have been made the object of reproach and attack. Thus R. B. C. Sheridan speaks of the pope's "prayer for peace and other unfriendly signs." The pope is reported to have approached President Wilson on the possibility of taking steps toward the restoration of peace,—an incident which Dillon[17] thinks "may fairly be regarded as an illustration of the saying that the most singular lapses are those of really clever men." Dr. Dillon is very emphatic in his declaration that "when he [the pope] raises his voice in favor of a so-called peace which would have for its inevitable consequence the triumph of that damnable doctrine [the gospel of violence] over the principles of morality of which he himself claims to be the supreme guardian, he is entering upon a domain of which the Allied Powers are the only recognized wardens." A peace on the basis of the present [May, 1915] military situation would of course not be dictated by the Allies, and in Dillon's opinion "one can readily see that at the present conjunction peace is impossible" since it would be "a mere cessation of hostilities" and would be "followed only by a truce which would soon be broken by a conflict more ferocious and fatal than the present war," and, as Dillon has it, "that is precisely what the pope's well-meant initiative, were it successful, would achieve"—"of two appalling evils his Holiness, with noblest intentions, would choose for us [the Allies] the worst."

Fortunately we are in a position to form our own opinion of the kind of peace that the pope wishes to foster and hasten. In his allocution to the secret consistory held at the beginning of December last he urged upon all belligerents alike the spirit of generosity in the framing of their proposals for peace.

"Peace must be just,"—so his Holiness exhorts the nations—"lasting, and not favorable to any one group of belligerents, a peace that can really lead to a happy result, such as has already been tried and found to be good under similar circumstances and which, as we suggested in our original letter to the powers, must consist of

[17] *The Contemporary Review*, May, 1915.

an exchange of ideas, both direct and indirect, accompanied by a voluntary spirit and serene consciousness, setting forth with completeness and clearness the full extent of the aspirations of each, eliminating those which are unjust and impossible.

"It is absolutely necessary, as in all human controversies where the contending parties seek a settlement, that each group of belligerents should cede on some points and renounce some of the advantages hoped for, and that each should make these concessions with good grace, even if it costs some sacrifice, in order not to assume before God and man the enormous responsibility of the terrible slaughter which is without previous example in history and which, if continued, may prove to be the beginning of a decline from that degree of prosperous civilization to which Christianity has lifted the world."

Who, be he the pope's friend or foe, will deny the justness and soundness of the principles of the peace advocated and prayed for by his Holiness? Who, be he in sympathy with the Allies or the Central Powers, will refuse to admit that this is the kind of peace that the world needs and wants, the only kind that would not be an "armed truce"?

Verily, these "expert" opinions of more or less partial critics make interesting reading, especially when, as the evidence tends to show, these critics are in agreement only in their one desire of striking hard at the object of their lordly displeasure."

MODERN PASSION PLAYS.

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

BY the term "modern passion plays" the writer does not mean the Biblical peasant-pageants produced at stated intervals down to the present day in certain parts of Europe. The passion play at Oberammergau and in other villages in Catholic Germany, Austria and Switzerland is by no means modern. It is not even a revival, as is the case with the mystery plays of other countries,[1] but rather a survival of medieval dramatic folk-art. The author has in mind those dramas, which, based on the Biblical account of the passion of Christ, have been written according to the laws of modern dramatic technique. We have gotten accustomed by this time to see the Bible subjected to the processes of modern criticism, but we are to watch now the process of adapting the Gospel narratives of the life and passion of Christ to modern dramatic requirements. That the Biblical story is not fit for dramatic treatment our realists could not fail to see. In realism, as we all know, the subject-matter must be matter-of-fact material, and the sense of fact must prevail over reason and imagination, which cannot possibly hold true, with all our implicit belief in them, of the Gospel narratives. And, what is the greatest obstacle to the dramatization of the life of Christ, the fate of Jesus is from the Christian standpoint not a tragedy.[2]

[1] Passion plays were also produced in England, Italy and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; for England see *Open Court,* Vol. I (1887), pp. 290-292; for Italy, *Macmillan's Magazine,* Vol. LX, pp. 44 ff., and *Living Age,* Vol. CLXXXI (1889), pp. 562-566; and for the passion play in San Francisco see, among other sources, *Theatre,* Vol. I (1879), pp. 213-216, and *Overland,* Vol. LIV (1909), pp. 497-507, and Vol. LVI (1910), pp. 215-221.

[2] By this I do not mean that the life of Jesus does not present any tragic moments. As he walks on the road to Golgotha he is the most tragic figure in the world's history. Giving his impressions of the passion play at Oberammergau in 1850, Eduard Devrient, director of the Royal Theater in Dresden, says: "Wie Christus nun dahingeht mit der unermesslichen Liebe in der Brust, für alle zu sterben: diese ungeheure einsame Grösse hat mir erst

Christ is not a tragic hero dramatically. His fate does not awaken pity and fear, which, after all, is the object of all tragedy. He is not human, not one of us; and so by unraveling his fate before our eyes we cannot be made to imagine ourselves in his place and beat our breasts. We feel neither pity for him, nor fear for ourselves. For this reason modern poets who turned to the Bible for dramatic material chose lesser Biblical characters for their heroes; and where Christ has been introduced, he is not the hero. Of the contemporary poets who have dramatized Biblical material, Sudermann (*Johannes,* 1898)[3] places John the Baptist, Paul Heyse (*Maria von Magdala,* 1899),[4] and Maeterlinck (*Marie-Magdeleine,* 1910)[5] Mary Magdalene, and Rostand (*La Samaritaine,* 1897)[6] the Samaritan woman in the center of their dramas, while Christ, if he appears at all, is fairly passive. This hesitancy to make Christ the chief protagonist of a play is not the result of the unreligious nature of our modern literature, for our modern poets do not hesitate at all in suggesting Christ as central figure in their non-biblical dramas. Parsifal is reminiscent of Christ, and in Strindberg's *Advent* (1899) the supernatural playmate of the children is Love or the Christ-Child personified. The Evangelist in Henry Arthur Jones's *The Galilean's Victory* (1907), who preaches a faith of the heart, is a true representative of the Nazarene, and Manson in Kennedy's *The Servant in the House* (1907), who teaches the lesson of fraternal love, is the symbolized Christ. Jerome K. Jerome suggestively identifies Christ with the protagonist of his play, *The Passing of the Third Floor Back* (1908), and the title-hero in Lady Gregory's *The Traveling Man* (1910) is none other than the Galilean preacher.

But, strange to say, in plays based on the Gospel narratives, the chief character has been kept resolutely off the stage. Jesus

die Gewalt der dramatischen Kunst vor die Seele gebracht." But what I do mean is that according to the Christian system of salvation this death, quite aside from the ensuing resurrection, did not mean defeat, but victory to Christ.

[3] Sudermann's *Johannes* (*Poet Lore Plays,* No. 48), is, in contradistinction to Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (*Poet Lore Plays,* No. 53), in form and substance a Biblical play despite the freedom with which the story of the Baptist as told by the Evangelists is treated.

[4] English translation by M. Winter, New York, 1904. It was played in this country in 1902-3 with Mrs. Fiske in the title-role.

[5] English translation by A. Teixeira, New York, 1910. It was produced at the New Theatre in New York in 1910-11 with Olga Nethersole in the title-role. Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena* (1844) is not a Biblical play.

[6] This *évangile en trois tableaux en vers* was presented for the first time in Paris in 1897 with Mme. Sarah Bernhardt in the title-role, and has been repeated for several years there during Holy Week. It was also given in this country in 1910-11, on one of Mme. Bernhardt's numerous American tours, in spite of the protests of the Catholic clergy.

ACT III, MAETERLINCK'S "MARY MAGDALENE."
An eye-witness describing the crucifixion.

does not appear at all on the boards in any of our contemporary Biblical dramas. His character is portrayed by his personal influence on the other figures in the play. Our dramatists seeem fully to realize that a god has no place in the modern drama. Christ does not appear in Sudermann's *Johannes*, though his baptism by John is mentioned. Only directly after the beheading of the Baptist do loud exultant hosannas announce the entry of the Nazarene into Jerusalem.[7] In Heyse's "Mary of Magdala" and Maeterlinck's "Mary Magdalene" an indirect characterization of Christ is attempted by picturing his spirit and his influence over the central figure of the play. In the former play Christ keeps himself resolutely behind the stage, and in the latter he is seen only once for an instant just before the final curtain, walking past the window on the way to Caiaphas. Rostand, however, in *La Samaritaine* brings Christ on the stage, but even here he is just as passive as John in Sudermann's *Johannes*, though he is the title-hero. *The Samaritan Woman*, however, is, as I shall show further on, no drama at all.

But by stubbornly refusing Christ admission to the stage our contemporary dramatists have not succeeded in making their plays modern. In dramatizing the Biblical narratives the author is confronted with a dilemma. He must choose between the natural and supernatural view of his plot. If he wants to give us a modern drama he must eliminate the supernatural elements out of the story. The modern drama demands, as the very essence of its art, an absolute freedom of will on the part of all the participants of an action, and its purpose as a drama is defeated by any predestination of the action which is not inherent in the characters themselves. The individual human wills involved in a certain action must not be confronted in the drama of to-day by a divine will, with which they cannot cope on equal terms. Hence no Biblical play can be modern if it does not remove from the story the supernatural character of Christ and his supernatural influence upon the other figures in it.

This criticism holds true of Heyse and Maeterlinck. The conversion of the erring Magdalene by the ministrations of Christ cannot be explained in a natural way and hence has no place in a modern drama. It is therefore not shown at all like several other essential acts of Maeterlinck's play, about which we are merely told in the dialog, and so by accepting the supernatural elements of his plot Maeterlinck defeats himself as a dramatist. The conclusion, which

[7] In Hebbel's *Herod and Mariamne* (1850) the birth of Christ is in a parallel manner announced to the king by the three Wise Men at the end of the play after the execution of his wife.

is the only dramatic part of the play, is predetermined, and hence the lack of suspense.

Though Maeterlinck's play is more poetic, Heyse's is more dramatic. Heyse's Mary of Magdala, who was married as a child to an old man, wins our sympathy in her revolt against her life and the laws of her religion, while Maeterlinck's Mary Magdalene, with sensuality as sole motive of her conduct, repels us. An especial feature of Heyse's dramatic version is Mary's association with Judas. This relationship formed before Judas met Jesus helps to make Judas humanly intelligible. Though full of resentment over Mary Magdalene's humiliation in Simon's house and her change of heart towards him, which he rightly attributes to Christ's influence, his betrayal of Jesus is primarily actuated by noble motives. This Judean zealot sees a great danger for the future of his country in the Galilean's teachings of non-resistance. "Love thine enemies and bless them that hate thee," is in the eyes of the patriot nothing short of treason. He considers it his duty to save Israel from the shame of seeing one of its sons, who was once called a saint, kiss the dust of the feet of the imperator. Judas has no use for a Messiahship of peace and meekness rather than of force, and he may also have a secret hope that when Jesus is seized he will resort to the power of the sword and redeem Israel from its oppressors. This humanization of the character of Judas alone will insure Heyse's play a place in the world's literature.

Realizing the difficulty of dramatizing the Gospel narratives, Rostand foregoes any attempt to be dramatic. In the technical sense *La Samaritaine* is no drama at all;[8] it is a lyric poem in dialog form,—a poetical and reverential narrative in verse. The supernatural element abounds throughout the play. The initial scene, in which the shades of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob arrive from Sheol by a common presentiment of an impending miracle, prepares us for the supernatural and lyric treatment of the whole play. As in "Mary Magdalene," the plot of this play is the conversion of an erring woman through Christ. Photine, the woman of Samaria, meets Jesus in the solitude by the well of Jacob and is awakened by him to religious ecstasy. She returns to the town, harangues her townsmen in the market-place and finally succeeds in leading them to the well of Jacob to listen to the teachings of the Messiah. But in this play too, as pointed out above, Christ is not the central

[8] Cf. F. W. Chandler, *Aspects of the Modern Drama* (New York, Macmillan), p. 63.

figure. He is only indirectly characterized by his influence on the woman of Samaria.

These dramas cannot properly be called passion plays, since in none of them does the suffering and death of Jesus form the central plot. Within the last few years however prominent authors have turned to the passion for their fable and have given us passion plays.[9] The author of *The King of the Jews*, whose aim is a glorification of the Messiah, still accepts the supernatural view of the plot, and so defeats himself as a dramatist, while the author of *Jesus* endeavors to give us a natural interpretation of the Gospel story. He aims to produce a modern drama out of the Christian saga by stripping it of all its supernatural elements. He forgets however that the dramatist must count upon the cooperation and collaboration of his public, which is still, if not dogmatically, at least traditionally Christian, and hence indisposed to accept a natural interpretation of the Christian story of Jesus. But a rationalistic dramatization of the Christian legends is bound to cause a disillusionment to the most unprejudiced mind. It is just as impossible to give, in literature, a natural interpretation of the Christian mythology, as it is of the Greek mythology. The rationalization of the supernatural in the Bible has been abandoned long ago by our theologians as absurd. But try as a playwright might, he will find it almost impossible to remove the supernatural element completely out of the passion story and yet have an intelligent plot, comformable to logic. Deviations from the plot abound for this reason in the two passion plays under discussion, and yet the subject-matter has not been made dramatic according to our present-day conceptions of the drama in either of them, as the writer hopes to point out.

In *Jesus* we are assured on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book that "the persons who founded Christianity (?) are here stripped of supernatural embellishment; and they are represented as simple, real, ardent Orientals in the throes of a great and impending tragedy." How many of the numerous persons in the five

[9] *The King of the Jews: A Sacred Drama.* From the Russian of "K. P." (The Grand Duke Constantine). By Victor E. Marsden. Funk & Wagnalls Co. This play was performed at the Imperial Theater at St. Petersburg in December, 1913, and January, 1914, with the author in the role of Joseph of Arimathæa. The "K. P." appearing on the title-page is a printer's error. The initials always used by the late Grand Duke Constantine were "K. K." (Konstantin Konstantinovitch).

Jesus: A Passion Play. By Max Ehrmann. Baker & Taylor Co.

M. Dearmer's *The Soul of the World: A Mystery Play of the Nativity and the Passion* (1911), has a religious motive, but is of small literary value.

Walter Nithak-Stahn's German play, *Christusdrama* (1912) has been inaccessible to me.

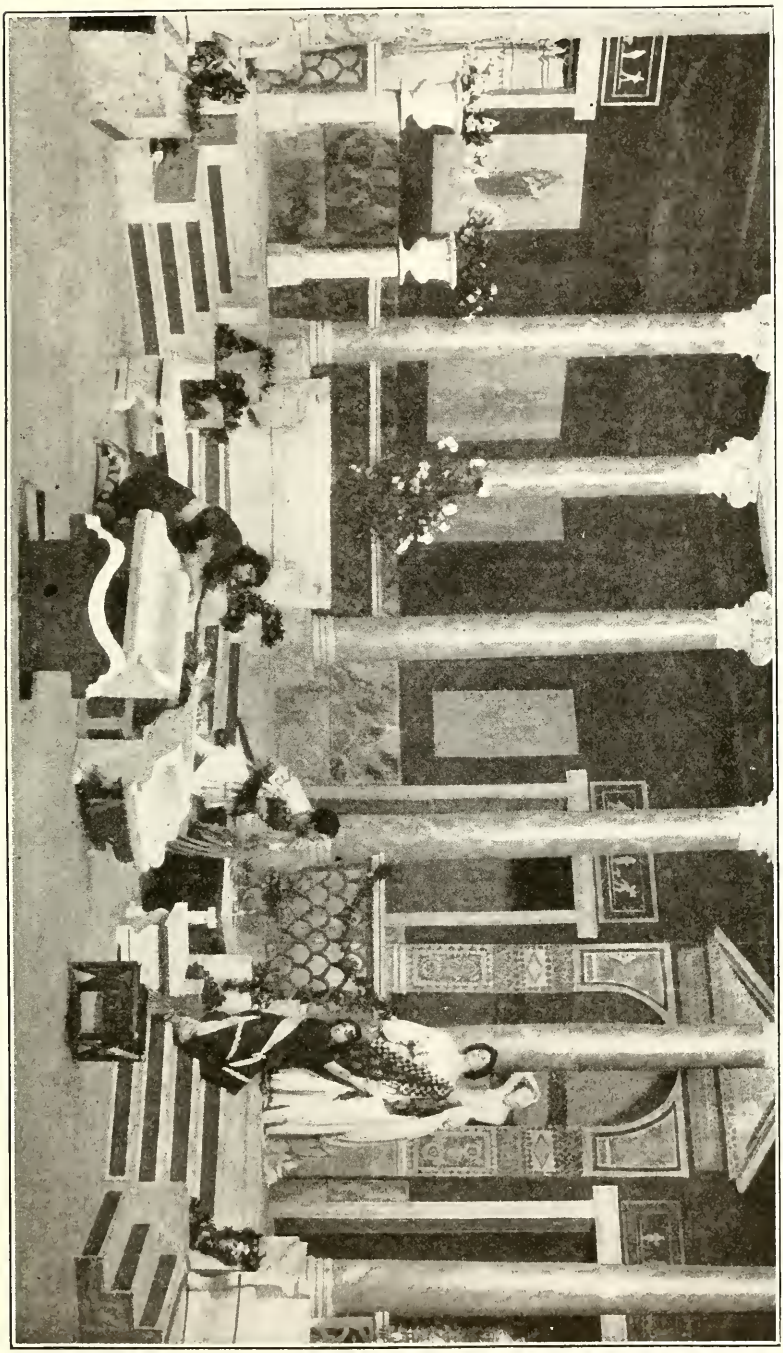
long acts of this drama[10] the author includes among those who have founded Christianity is for the writer hard to tell. He surely cannot mean the priests, traders and money-changers, who are in the majority in this play, and who talk the language of our present-day peddlers. But this much is quite evident, that Jesus has been divested in this passion play of the aureole of divinity, and represented as a rebel-prophet, but not in rebellion against the Romans, as Karl Kautsky, the eminent socialist, once interpreted the "Lamb of God" to have been, but against the rich traders, and the priests and scribes, who are in their employ. The people revolt against the greedy traders and money-changers in the temple, who are paying high rent to the priests for the privilege of doing business and robbing the poor in the house of God, and yearn for a strong man to lead them against their oppressors; and when Jesus with his large following of Galilean peasants appears in the court of the temple, they immediately see in him the desired leader and lend him their support in his rebellion against the temple authorities.

Of the miracles with which the Gospel writers credit Jesus, we hear in this passion play only from the mouth of Judas, but he does not claim to have been an eye-witness. The raising of Lazarus from the dead by Jesus was told him when he later came to Bethany. All other miraculous acts of his master he also knows only from hearsay.[11] The only miracle he saw was when Jesus commanded the sea, but then, as one of his hearers, an Alexandrian, remarks, no doubt the storm had spent itself.

The play does not however ignore Jesus's claim to the Messiahship; and this it is which is used by the priests as pretext for his death. He is, as his brother Joses sees him, "a fool upon whom a terrible thought has seized that he was the Son of Man told of by the prophet Daniel." And not only Pilate sees in Jesus "a man-loving fool who fancied himself to be a god," but even Joseph of Arimathæa, who once dreamed the same dreams, acknowledges that by his claim to the Messiahship Jesus greatly erred, but "he is not the first, nor will he be the last to fancy himself touched with fire from the clouds, and called by heavenly voices in the night." In this interpretation of the character of Jesus the author of this passion play has undoubtedly been greatly influenced by Gerhard Hauptmann, whose hero, Emanuel Quint, in *Emanuel Quint: Ein*

[10] Each act has a list of persons as in Hauptmann's *The Weavers* (1892).

[11] Although when he later pleads with the priests for the life of Jesus he allows himself a falsehood and claims to have seen the miracles his Master is credited with, with his own eyes.



ACT II, "THE KING OF THE JEWS."
Watching the trial from the next room.

Narr in Christo (1910),[12] a Silesian pietist, who in all honesty believes himself to be the re-incarnated Christ, is only a symbolic figure for the Galilean Essene.

The character of Judas is drawn in this modern passion play very sympathetically. He is not the God-murderer who sells his Master for thirty pieces of silver, but an unwise *Stürmer,* outwitted by the cunning priests. Judas is impatient with Jesus, he wants to bring a crisis into his life and to force him to declare himself. He realizes that the worldly people in Jerusalem cannot be so easily won over as the Galilean peasants and that Jesus would have to show his Father to the people before he could convince them of the approaching judgment day. Judas does not lead the soldiers upon Jesus in the night, they follow him against his will to discover the hiding-place of his master. Neither does he betray Jesus by a kiss; the kiss which he wants to bestow upon his worshiped teacher as a greeting and which is refused him, is not by any means a pre-arranged sign of identity. Jesus is pointed out to the Roman guards not by Judas, but by one of the money-changers. And Judas has not lost his faith in his master till the last minute. From the moment that the soldiers take Jesus captive in the Garden of Gethsemane, till he is led to the cross, Judas does not cease urging him to show that he is the Son of God and to free himself by the divine power within him, in which Judas has not the least doubt. Moreover Judas is the only one of his disciples that remains loyal to Jesus. It is he who of all his disciples pleads for him with the accusers and finally shares his fate at the hands of the Roman soldiers.

But though we gladly forgive the author for his deviating from the traditional character of Judas, which is indeed incomprehensible, we cannot do so in the case of Mary Magdalene. Mary, who came from Magdala, and out of whom seven devils had been driven, who was the most faithful and loving of all the women that followed Christ from Galilee, who brought spices to the tomb, and who later was privileged to clasp Christ's feet, has been identified by some with the sinner who anointed and kissed Christ's feet in the house of Simon, and according to medieval belief was also the same as the sister of Lazarus and Martha,[13] but she can by no means be identified, as in this play, with the adulteress. Adultery, according to Old

[12] This master-piece of the greatest of all living German writers has recently been made accessible to English readers by the New York publisher B. W. Huebsch. The translation is by T. Seltzer.

[13] In Maeterlinck's play Mary Magdalene is identified with the sinner in the house of Simon the Leper, but not with the sister of Lazarus. On the other

ACT III, "THE KING OF THE JEWS."
In the garden of Joseph of Arimathaea.

Testament law, is sexual intercourse of a married woman with any other man than her husband, and this relation alone was punished in Judea by death; unchaste relations between an unmarried woman and a man were disapproved of, but were not punishable by death.

Ehrmann is indebted for the character of the Magdalene to Maeterlinck, just as Maeterlinck is to Heyse,[14] but Ehrmann has gone one step farther in his motivation of Mary Magdalene's love

FROM MAETERLINCK'S "MARY MAGDALENE."
Suggesting to Mary how she could save Jesus.

for Jesus, and this step has proven fatal for him. Already Maeterlinck makes Mary's conversion and love for Jesus spring from her gratitude to the Galilean for having saved her from the condemna-

hand, Martha, the sister of Lazarus, is the wife of Simon the Leper. Another deviation from tradition in this play is that the Last Supper takes place at the home of Joseph of Arimathæa.

[14] In both plays the crisis is Mary Magdalene's dilemma of saving or killing Jesus according as she consents or refuses to give herself to the Roman tribune, who from jealousy has arrested Jesus in the first place; and her

tion of the rabble. But Maeterlinck's Mary Magdalene is not the adulteress who is brought before Jesus for judgment, as is the case in Ehrmann's drama,[15] though the followers of Jesus throw stones at her and call her "adulteress" when she approaches them from curiosity. Adulteress in Maeterlinck's drama is equivalent to harlot, soldiers' wench. Maeterlinck could not have meant to imply that she was a married woman.[16]

The whole love episode between Mary Magdalene and Terreno, captain of the Roman guards, whom she would meet every year at Easter in Jerusalem[17] and with whom she seems to entertain more than friendly relations even after she has seen "him who told me of the love of God," is distasteful to the reader. The similar scenes between Mary Magdalene and the tribune Virus in Maeterlinck's play are far less objectionable, although the entire play is based upon her sensuality. Much more does Mary of Magdala appeal to us in the medieval passion plays, where from a *Dame aux Camélias* she is immediately transformed to a saint by the touch of the spirit of God.

The resurrection-scene of this play destroys the unity of action. The author follows tradition in this respect, and the medieval passion plays in the later phase of their development included the resurrection scene, i. e., became merged with the Easter play. It is moreover very probable that the passion play grew out of the Easter play. But the resurrection in this play has only taken place in the feverish mind of Mary Magdalene. Joseph of Arimathæa takes Jesus out of his family tomb,[18] where he laid him two days before, in order to please his wife and children, who say that he thus dishonored and defiled their tomb, and hides him in the earth that no man shall know where he lies, "not even his followers, for they would betray the place," and the priests might carry out their threat and tear his flesh and burn it to ashes in order to prevent his ever rising from the dead, as was rumored. When Mary arrives at the scene, and sees

refusal is due not to any abhorrence of the deed proposed, but rather to her unwillingness to destroy in her soul and throughout the earth that which is the very life in her new life, as some one has expressed it. She cannot purchase the life of Christ through that which he abhorrs. In spite of all his explanations in the foreword Maeterlinck is in the plot of his drama guilty of plagiarism.

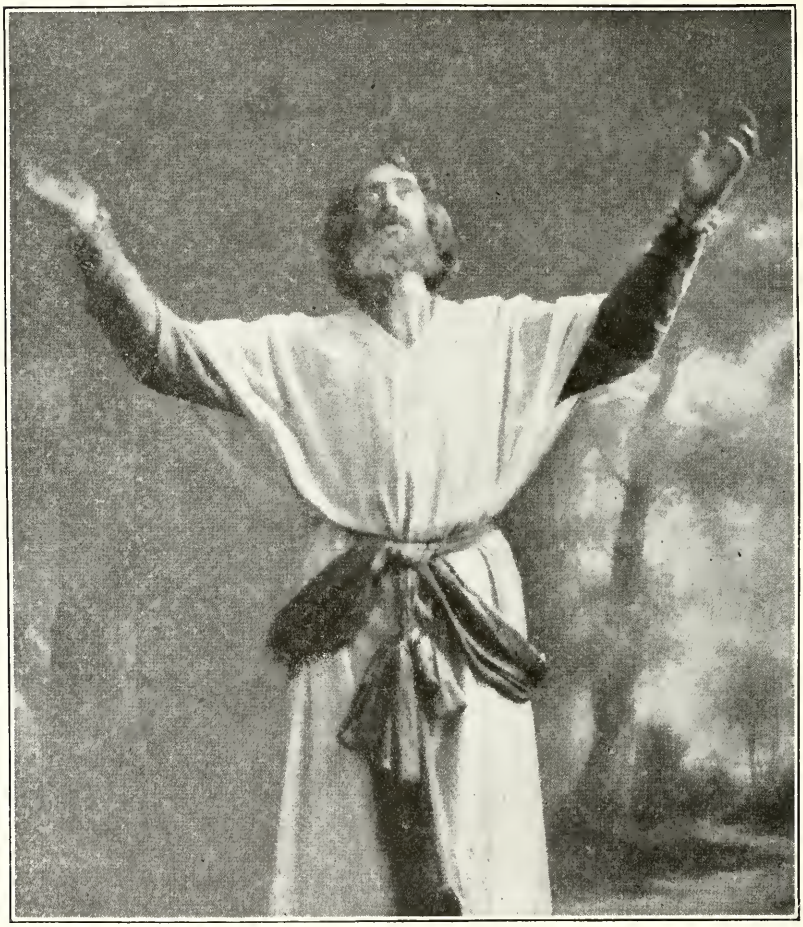
[15] In this play, by the way, Mary is already converted when she is brought before Jesus for judgment on the accusation of adultery.

[16] In both these plays Mary Magdalene does not follow Christ from Galilee.

[17] According to the Mosaic law only men were required to go up to Jerusalem to eat the Paschal lamb.

[18] Why should Joseph of Arimathæa have his family tomb in Jerusalem?

the stone rolled away, the tomb empty, and discovers blood-stains on the piece of linen, with which her persistent lover Terreno dried her tears, a part of the linen with which the body of Christ was wrapped and which was left behind in the tomb by Joseph and his two servants in their haste to get away at the approach of the women



THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE AS JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA IN "THE KING OF THE JEWS."

carrying ointment, she becomes frantic with grief over the crucified "lover of her soul" and thinks that she sees Christ standing by the tomb and hears him calling her.

Of the other characters in this play Pilate is well and sympa-

thetically portrayed. It is interesting to note in this connection that of all the characters in the medieval passion plays of Germany, Pilate has perhaps been best and most finely analyzed. Even Lucifer, one of the chief characters in the medieval drama, has for the first time been consistently drawn only in Arnold Immessen's play of the *Fall of Man,* which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century.[19]

A very attractive character is the old Joseph of Arimathæa, an admirer of the young heaven-stormer, who in his eyes was "love and fire and storm and love again," and in whom he saw again "my youth, and thought I heard again the far voice singing and almost heard God whispering behind thy words." His apostrophe of Jesus at the grave is one of the most beautiful passages of this poetically arid drama.

This passion play may well be called modern in so far as it attempts to show us the motives for the actions of the characters, while the characters in the medieval passion plays were like figures on the chess-board. The clerical authors of the Middle Ages, whose sole object it was to visualize the life and passion of Christ for the common people, were content to put the Gospel narratives in dialog form without taking the least effort to motivate the actions. It was a sufficient explanation for a man's evil actions that the devil possessed him, but the modern man has to have the actions necessarily flow out of the characters. Nevertheless I would hesitate to call this drama realistic. I cannot help thinking that in spite of all his ingenious manipulations of the plot Ehrmann has not succeeded in giving us a modern realistic drama. In his reproduction of the milieu and the motivation of the actions the drama may be modern, but in the treatment of plot and character the play does not adhere to the laws of modern dramatic technique. There is development in but a few of the characters. Nor do all the characters stand out concretely. This is especially true of the central figure. Jesus does not stand out in bold relief against the large and confused living back-ground as does for example Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar. The plot, with all the deviation from the Biblical account, is a manifest pre-arrangement by the author rather than the result of the inevitable action of character upon character. Nor is the plot fairly rounded out, since in the final act the whole structure of the plot collapses, too, as though we had no interest in any one but Jesus.

[19] For the Devil's role in the medieval church plays the reader is referred to the writer's monograph, *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit.* Hesperia: *Schriften zur germanischen Philologie,* No. 6. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1915.

The weakest points in this drama are the long-drawn-out mass-scenes which in places almost border on the grotesque. One cannot help comparing them with the Judean mass-scenes in Hebbel's youthful drama *Judith*.[20]

As we turn from *Jesus* to *The King of the Jews* we are transferred into a higher sphere, and we feel that we are now breathing purer air. The modern realistic technique and the ancient devotion cannot be united. *Jesus* fails to move us, and here it is where the failure of the drama lies. One sees that the author's heart-strings were not moved, and hence the absence of emotional content in the play. We would gladly forgive the author his multitude of details if he had spared us the barterings of the traders, the wranglings of the scribes and the bargaining of the disciples with their master; and we would rather have the slaves in the household of Pilate talk in blank verse, as is the case in *The King of the Jews,* than hear Jesus speak in realistic unrythmic prose. though we must acknowledge that the author of *Jesus* tries hard to make his title-hero speak a more select language than the other characters.

The King of the Jews is a poetic drama with minute scenic directions which are typical of the present-day Russian drama. The epic element is very prominent, and the lyric passages are not missing either. There is very little action going on on the stage; hence the liberal use of the dialogue. The trial of Jesus takes place behind the scene, and we at times hear the voice of the crowd demanding his death. The author was especially anxious not to have Christ brought on the stage. You look in vain for him among the *dramatis personae.* The author shares the aversion of the medieval playwrights, who for a long time hesitated to present Christ on the stage. But even if Christ does not disclose himself to our sinful eyes in this play we are not left in the dark as to his outward appearance. While, in *Jesus,* Christ's face is presented as "ugly to look upon," "horrible," "terrible," "frightful," "like one ready for the tomb," Jesus has, in *The King of the Jews,* a beautiful countenance, "majesty and meekness, grief and patience, all in one," out of which a godlike charm flows, and leads all hearts captive. Christ's face shows no trace of his Jewish origin, and even Pilate, the haughty Roman, recognizes in him "that air of majesty, as't were in beggar's filthy rags a king disguised."

The principal sin of Jesus in this play, as the title suggests, is his assumed royalty,—the fact that he allows his followers to call him "King of the Jews." The Sadducees fear that the people in

[20] In English translation in *Poet Lore Plays,* No. 36.

their blind belief in him as the Messiah might proclaim him king over Judea, and this would bring on the country the wrath of the Romans, who would then take away from them the little independence which they had so far enjoyed, and in the eyes of the Pharisees he forfeits his life because he declares himself the Son of God.

PRINCE CONSTANTINE AS PREFECT OF THE ROMAN COHORTS.
The third son of the Grand Duke.

With all his efforts at motivation the author of *Jesus* fails to account for the barbarous maltreatment of Jesus by the Roman soldiers, unless he wishes to infer that the leader of the Roman guard in Jerusalem, Terreno, takes revenge on Jesus for having alienated from him the affections of Mary Magdalene. In *The King of the*

Jews the torturers of Jesus are not Romans but nearly all Samaritans by birth. And the Samaritans, who hate the Jews, take advantage to vent their spite on their fancied king. The Roman idolaters and heathens, on the other hand, are "more humane than all the Jews professing to believe in one true God," and the Samaritans.

PRINCE IGOR AS RUFUS THE GARDENER.
The fifth son of the Grand Duke.

In this play also, as in *Jesus*, Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea, is well portrayed. He may be a pitiable figure, yet one that wins our full sympathy. Indeed he almost overshadows the title-hero in prominence. Of the four acts one and a half play in Pilate's palace; and if we miss among the *dramatis personae* Judas, Mary

Magdalene, the disciples, the mother and brothers of Jesus, we are compensated by tribunes, centurions, prefects, Syrian slaves and dancers of both sexes, and flower-girls(!). It is evident enough that it was meant as a court-drama, and the performance was indeed favorably received at the Czar's court.

A foreign element in this drama is the discussion between Procula and the tribunes in regard to the decadence of the Roman women, by which the author of course means our modern women as well. The women are altogether too prominent in this play. Joanna, one of the women, who, according to the Scriptures, followed Christ from Galilee, but who in this play is a bosom friend of Procula, reminds us more of a modern society woman than a Galilean peasant. All too much is made of Procula's dream. Altogether Procula's anxiety for the Jewish "vagrom-beggar-man," as she herself called him but a few days before, is highly improbable. She sees Jesus for the first time at his entry into Jerusalem, and at his trial and crucifixion takes his fate even more to heart than his two admirers, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa. To have her, a Roman woman, speak of Jesus as

> "He! He—the Just One—the Messiah!—He,
> The Truth Incarnate and the Son of God"

is more than the author can make us believe.[21]

The author of *The King of the Jews*, as a member of the Orthodox church, follows tradition in the smallest details, even down to the washing of hands of Pilate. Nay, he does not have enough with the miracles attested by the Gospel writers, but also draws on the New Testament Apocrypha. We find it therefore strange that he makes no mention of the miraculous birth of Christ. The angel with the white lily wand appears to Mary when she becomes a mother, bringing glad tidings of the birth of Christ, but not earlier. The divinity of Christ is not emphasized either. All that his followers believe is that he has been sent by God from heaven to earth to preach charity and peace.

[21] That Procula should have conceived all of a sudden so deep a reverence for Jesus is as unbelievable as for Wilde's Salomé to have conceived so fleshly a love for the melancholy prophet of the desert. The same criticism can also be made of Maeterlinck's play. Mary Magdalene's transition from sinner to saint in the Belgian's drama is all too sudden. Mary of Magdala, who came at the eleventh hour, becomes the only being that has seen into Christ's soul. She knows all that he is as if she were within him, as she expresses herself. But far more incredible is that courtesan's sudden change of attitude toward the followers of Jesus,—"the uncouth creatures, the oldest, the ugliest, the dirtiest, the most pestilential Jews," as she called them a few days before in the house of the Roman. Modern technique precludes direct divine intervention.

In the miracle of the resurrection the author deviates from the Bible. The one who in this play first sees Christ resurrected is Mary the Mother, and it happens not at the grave but in her little chamber at the house of the beloved disciple John, and she herself thinks it is no more than "a dream, a vision marvelous." The women of Galilee also saw

"Beneath the cedar while the dawn was pale,
Our Lord Himself in yonder silent vale."

A very happy deviation from the Biblical story is that Simon of Cyrene, whose steps, according to the Gospels, chance turned toward the city of Golgotha, rushes here, of his own free will, toward Jesus and swings the cross on his back, remembering the words, which he, who is now led as a lamb to the slaughter, addressed to him at his triumphal entry into Jerusalem when he caught the ass's bridle-rein and helped him dismount:

"One service thou hast done for me this day;
Full soon I want from thee another, Simon."

While neither of these two passion play authors has, in the mind of the writer, done justice to the subject-matter, the method of treatment in *The King of the Jews* seems to appeal more to us, as it is in accordance with tradition. *Jesus* undoubtedly satisfies more our dramatic demands, but our esthetic sense is more gratified by *The King of the Jews*. The former play with its central and commanding figure of the Nazarene and its wealth of historical detail has greater dramatic value than the latter play with its indirect characterization of the title-hero, who is relegated to a secondary place in our interest, and the prevalence of the epic over the dramatic element, so that several of the most important acts are reported in the dialog and we are thus robbed of our participation in them, almost defeats its purpose as a drama. But if the public has to choose between unpoetic realism and poetic unrealism in the passion there is no doubt in the writer's mind that the latter would be the general choice. He need but refer to the hold which survivals of the medieval supernatural and irrational presentation of the Passion such as at Oberammergau still has over the minds of even the most enlightened men and women. *Jesus* is moreover not an acting drama, while *The King of the Jews* has at its presentation at the Imperial Theater in St. Petersburg exerted a most profound and soul-stirring impression upon the court-audience.[22]

[22] Illustrations with description of the St. Petersburg performance are found in *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Vol. CXLII (Jan. 29, 1914), pp. 189-191.

Mr. John Masefield's *Good Friday*,[23] the latest and most modest attempt at a dramatization of the Passion, is not a drama, but, as the author himself calls it, a dramatic poem. It is of course outside of the province of this paper to pass judgment on this dramatic poem, as well as the sonnets, which together make up the small volume, as poetry, but its dramatic value is so insignificantly small that it can easily be gone over in silence in a discussion of modern passion plays. This latest dramatic attempt of Mr. Masefield, whose contributions to dramatic literature are generally held by his admirers in as high an esteem as his narrative poems, rather serves to prove how little the Passion lends itself to modern dramatic treatment. The author was fully aware of the difficult task before him, and as a result we have a most modest dramatic poem from the great English bard, author of *The Tragedy of Nan* and other beautiful dramas. His only achievement lies in his retelling the Gospel narratives of the events of the last day of Jesus's walk among men in rhymed couplets. He hesitates to swerve from the path of tradition and makes no serious attempt to give a new meaning to the events he reclothes in modern poetic diction. Yet he realizes that many traditional features of the plot cannot be employed successfully in modern dramatic poetry, and so he is forced against his will to deviate on several very important points from the reports of the Evangelists.

Realizing the fact that Christ does not lend himself to treatment as a dramatic hero, he does not bring him into the action at all, and the central figure of his dramatic piece is thus stubbornly kept off the stage. Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, stands in the foreground of the action, and the chief effort of the author seems to be to interpret the vexed soul of this Roman. The mental processes of Pilate are very vaguely expressed in the Gospels. The Evangelists represent him as a weakling, who yields to the popular demand and is forced to commit an act which he himself condemns. His historical character is thus to be pitied, but not condemned. Masefield however in his interpretation of the Roman procurator, portrays him wholly as a Roman, who metes out justice to a deluded man guilty of treason against Rome. He sentences Jesus not for fear of the Jews and against his own will, but, as he justifies his action to his wife, according to the dictates of his own conscience and the statutes of the Roman code as a sacrifice to the peace of the land which he governs.

[23] *Good Friday and Other Poems.* By John Masefield. The Macmillan Co., 1916. This book appeared after the close of the manuscript.

In his interpretation of the character of Judas, Masefield leaves the traditional ground altogether; and in order not to offend the sentiments of his readers, he does not mention him by name. The envoy of the Sanhedrin speaks of him only as a friend of Jesus. Like Heyse, Masefield tries to make his act humanly intelligible. Judas, who has sold all to follow the Galilean teacher, does not betray him after a while, from sheer lust of money, for thirty pieces of silver in order that a certain Old Testament prophecy be fulfilled. In Masefield's dramatic poem Judas is moved by deep scruples. He considers the claim Jesus lays to the Messiahship as blasphemy, and like other friends and followers falls away from him, although he found him kind in friendship. He is horrified by this self-delusion of the master he reveres, and takes this course to bring it to an immediate end. In Heyse, Judas acts as a patriot; here he is actuated by religious motives. The betrayal does not consist here in pointing out to the authorities a man whom every child in Jerusalem must have known, but in betraying his secret teachings.

But while the actions of Pilate and Judas are well motivated, Procula's intervention on behalf of Jesus is the result in this poem of pure intuition, the effect of a very vague dream. She has never seen Jesus, and like her husband has a deep scorn for all Jews, and yet as a result of a dream pleads obstinately with her husband for Jesus's life, tells him that she would have gone to Herod to plead for Jesus had she but dared, and when she learns of the tragic end of this Galilean peasant, she, the Roman patrician woman, stabs her arm with a dagger in order to wash away her guilt with her blood. And all this on account of a dream as vague as a dream can be. To her husband she describes this dream in the following words:

> "I saw a gleam
> Reddening the world out of a blackened sky,
> Then in the horror came a hurt thing's cry
> Protesting to the death that no one heard."

Procula's action is far better motivated in the medieval passion plays. There the dream contains an explicit warning from Heaven for her husband to beware of shedding innocent blood, and it is the fear of a terrible punishment for her husband that prompts her to plead so persistently for a man in whom she has not and cannot have the least interest.

Mr. Masefield's own creation is the madman, who is the vessel of the author's thoughts and emotions. This blind old madman with his lilies is reminiscent of the Sixth Blind Man with his asphodels

in Maeterlinck's symbolical drama, *Les aveugles* (1890), and may perhaps symbolize the idea that truth and response to beauty come only to him who is blind to the world of sense, and that the greatest power of insight lies in insanity. The madman also concludes the dramatic poem, and a brief dramatic monologue, "The Madman's Song," closes the book.

The scene of this little piece is placed in the paved court outside the Roman citadel in Jerusalem. It opens with a dialogue between Pilate and the centurion Longinus. The procurator commands Longinus to set Barabbas free and to have Jesus scourged and put outside the city gate with a warning not to make more trouble in Jerusalem. He wants to spare Jesus however, and asks Longinus to see that the sergeant be not too severe. When Longinus leaves, Procula enters, tells her husband her prophetic dream, and begs him to spare "that wise man." At her departure the chief citizen, the envoy from the Sanhedrin, comes and demands the death of Jesus. He tells Pilate that he has learned from a friend of Jesus (Judas) that this "leader of a perverse crew" claims to be the great king foretold by the prophets, who shall arise and free Israel from the Roman domination. After having examined the depositions in the hands of the envoy in regard to Jesus's sedition Pilate leaves to examine personally the defendant.

A madman enters, who sings a song about lilies he has for sale. He is old and blind, but comes to ask for the release of Jesus, because he has been kind to him. He even offers his life instead to the sentry. A number of citizens appear on the scene, who denounce Jesus for his blasphemy, and thirst for his blood. In the midst of this noise and confusion a voice (Peter's) is heard, denying his master.

Pilate returns after having made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Jesus to recant, and pronounces sentence upon him. Having achieved his purpose, and seeing Jesus led to his death, the envoy of the Sanhedrin protests to Pilate against the tablet which Pilate out of contempt for the Jews ordered to be hung over the cross and on which Jesus is called King of the Jews, for, as he says, "it cuts his people to the soul."

We hear the Jews mock at Jesus as he struggles past, carrying his cross on his way to Golgotha. Procula, upon hearing from her husband of the crucifixion of Jesus, is horrified and stabs her arm with her dagger to wash away with her blood the stain of guilt. Joseph of Ramah comes to Pilate to ask for the body of his master, and Longinus comes back to describe the horrible scene on the Old

Skull Hill. This condemnation and death of the rebel Jesus offers Herod an opportunity to reconcile himself with Pilate and Rome.

As an interpretation of the Great Tragedy, and likewise as a piece of dramatic art, *Jesus* marks a forward step in the dramatization of the Passion, but whether the next step is going to be in the direction the author of the natural *Jesus* has mapped out, is hard to say. Is it at all possible to present the great tragedy of Golgotha as a human experience in full conformity to logic? Can the story of Christ at all be rationalized and humanized? Or are ancient devotion and modern technique totally irreconcilable, as suggested above? It would almost seem so. Moulding a religious legend into a contemporary drama is at best a thankless work, and in the mind of the writer the drama of the future is not to be sought in the fables of the past. Why anticipate the miracle of the valley of Jehoshaphat?

POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE RESURRECTION STORY.

BY FRANK R. WHITZEL.

THERE is no fact in early Christian history more certain than that the disciples, within the lifetime of men who were adults when Jesus was crucified, believed universally and confidently in the resurrection. It is attested by Paul's letters and preaching, by the Gospels and by constant tradition. Yet great is the difficulty of finding any rational basis for this steadfast belief, great, that is, to those who cannot accept the literal story and who yet agree with Paul that "these things were not done in a corner."

The several accounts of the resurrection, in respect both to the central incident and to the details, are not merely extraordinary, they are frankly contradictory; and any explanation, to be plausible, must take cognizance of the contradictions as well as of all other salient features in the narratives. Ernest Renan's conjecture, as unsatisfactory to himself as to his readers, is but one of the many melancholy failures to find a rational explanation. A new one is herewith hazarded.

Our authorities are of course primarily the four Gospels, with hints from other sources like the Acts or Paul's Epistles. But it should be remembered that the first three Gospels, the Synoptics, are merely variants of a single tradition, hence are but one authority. These Gospels certainly give us a vivid idea of the man Jesus. He lives before us, and few can doubt the historicity of the man therein depicted. But with his death the bright outlines of this portrait fade. All is vagueness and confusion. Jesus, not a spirit, not a living man, flits in and out like a dream image. The accounts of his appearances are wholly irreconcilable, having all the aspect of myth or legend. The disciples are commanded to go to Galilee, to stay in Jerusalem. Jesus is recognized or not at his pleasure, passes locked doors, vanishes; yet he eats food like a living person.

His ascension is unmentioned, or it takes place the night of the resurrection Sunday, or forty days later. There are no consistencies.

The fourth evangelist, more liberal of details, is equally tantalizing in his vagueness. Whether John's Gospel was composed by the evangelist or by the elder, or, as is now widely believed, was written after the apostle's death by a young and ardent follower from recollection of his preaching aided perhaps by his literary remains, it at all events embodies a second tradition. John as well as the Synoptics paints a lifelike picture of Jesus, though naturally a different one. But his story of the resurrection is not the variant account of an equally trustworthy historian. All four narratives have divergencies so great that under ordinary circumstances we would be compelled to say that if any one of them is correct the others must be downright fabrications.

But a careful examination of the four Gospels will suggest to most students that the resurrection story, though it could not have been veridical, must yet possess some element of truth to serve as a basis for all these mutually contradictory legends. Of these legends consider but two.

The ascension of Jesus is not mentioned in any way by Matthew or John, or by Mark in the authentic part of his Gospel. In the closing verses, rejected by practically all critics, Mark says, "He was received up into heaven and sat at the right hand of God." The time is indefinite and the fact metaphorical, or it happened the night of the resurrection. Luke alone gives a definite account, and he generously gives two. In his Gospel, if the plain meaning of the words be accepted, he places the ascension at Bethany on the evening of the resurrection. In Acts he makes it at Mount Olivet forty days later.

Again, Matthew and Mark report the angel at the empty tomb as instructing the disciples to go to Galilee there to meet Jesus, the former adding that they did so. Luke knows nothing of this, though his angel repeats words Jesus spoke "when he was yet in Galilee." On the contrary he asserts that Jesus issued a specific command to the disciples to remain in Jerusalem. John notes no instructions of any kind but does relate an incident which he says happened in Galilee after the resurrection.

Consider the contradictions or unaccountable omissions in this list, remembering too that the accounts purport to be of the central and most vital incident of Christianity, the one incident where precision and certainty are indispensable if thinking men are to be convinced. A religion based upon a resurrection from the dead

should certainly offer a history of that resurrection full, explicit and concordant, no historian making an assertion which, if true, absolutely negatives the assertions of all its other historians, even

APPARITIONS OF JESUS.

TIME	WRITER	ACCOUNT
Day of Resurrection	Matt. Mark, John Luke	To women leaving sepulcher. To Mary Mag. near sepulcher. No mention.
Day of Resurrection	Mark, Luke Matt., John	To two disciples going to Emmaus No mention.
Day of Resurrection	Mark, John, Paul Luke Matt.	To eleven at supper. Same, and the Ascension. No mention.
Eight days later	John Matt., Mark, Luke	To eleven, to convince Thomas. No mention.
Indefinite	Matt. Mark, Luke, John	To disciples in Galilee. No mention.
Indefinite	John Matt., Mark, Luke,	To disciples at Lake Tiberias. No mention.
Indefinite	Paul only	To Peter, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To above 500, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To James, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To apostles, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To Paul, no details. Probably meant as subjectiveexperience.

CHART I.

if we grant that in minor matters the story might show discrepancies. The best attested apparition in the list is the appearance to the women, or at least to Mary Magdalene, at or near the sepulcher

COMMON DETAILS OF THE RESURRECTION.

	Synoptics		All Four Gospels	
	AGREED DETAILS	ADDITIONAL MENTION	AGREED DETAILS	ADDITIONS BY JOHN
Crucifixion	Time, Friday, 15th Nisan Present Mary Magdalene Mary, mother of Jesus	Salome, Joanna Zebedee's wife, others	Time, Friday Present Mary Magdalene Mary, mother of Jesus	14th Nisan Mary, wife of Cleophas
Joseph of Arimathæa	Disciple, influential Begged body of Jesus Wrapped it in linen Laid it in tomb Rock hewn Closed by stone Disappears from story.	Rich. A Counsellor Fine, clean, new linen Tomb never before used	Disciple Begged body from Pilate Wrapped body Laid it in tomb Rock hewn Closed by stone Disappears from story	Secret disciple For fear of Jews Tomb in garden In place of Crucifixion Nicodemus, and a Hundred weight of spices
Women and Resurrection	Mary Magdalene, Mary, mother of Jesus Present at Crucifi'n and Burial Sunday dawn visited tomb Found tomb open, body gone Saw angel Received command Obeyed command	Salome, Joanna, others To see tomb; anoint body Matt. Earthquake; guards Luke. Two angels, inside tomb Matt. Angel sat on stone Mark. Angel inside tomb	Two Marys at Crucifixion Mary Mag. alone, Sunday dawn Found tomb open, body gone Saw apparition which Announced Resurrection Received command Obeyed. (Mark ambiguous)	Saw two angels (Cf. Luke) Saw Jesus Command from Jesus Not from angels
Angel	Appeared to women Announced Resurrection Bade women tell disciples Said (Matt. and Mark.) He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him.	Luke. Two angels Luke. Implied only Luke. Told them that Jesus when in Galilee said he must be crucified and rise the third day.	Appeared at sepulcher Spoke to Mary Magdalene	Speaks of two angels (Cf. Luke)
Jesus	Appeared to some disciples but no agreement as to time, place or persons.		Appeared to some disciples but no agreement as to time, place or persons.	Appeared to Mary Magdalene Appeared twice to eleven Appeared at Lake Tiberias

CHART 2.

early on that Sunday morning, and this is one of the signs pointing toward a possible explanation.

The next chart is intended to show the points in agreement, first of the three Synoptics, then of all four Gospels. The columns of additional mention include further particulars given by a single authority in regard to common points, not to points missing altogether from one or more Gospels.

Upon examining this table and comparing it with a table which could be drawn up for each of the four writers, we may at once eliminate certain features from consideration.

1. The command to go to Galilee, or to stay in Jerusalem. Where would the followers of Jesus, all Galileans, flee upon the death of their leader except to Galilee? Yet tradition has the church growing from a nucleus in Jerusalem. Evidently some disciples did not flee or else soon returned. The commands of the angels are plainly made to fit this situation. Hence the contradiction.

2. Matthew's story of the earthquake. This seems a mere device to account for the removal of the stone which closed the sepulcher, taking its origin, like the tale of angels at the tomb, from the improbability that the women could themselves have had the physical strength to roll back the heavy stone. Likewise Matthew's story of the guards is obviously a fiction put forth later for argumentative reasons. The guards would ordinarily have been Roman soldiers, and Roman or Jew could never have confessed either to being bribed or to sleeping on duty.

3. All the apparitions of Jesus. No two accounts are sufficiently alike to warrant study with a view to discovering a substratum of fact. If any one authority be accepted the others must be denied. Compare Matthew with John relative to the very first appearance of Jesus after his death. More than one author speaks of an appearance to the eleven that Sunday night, but aside from the mere assertion all is again mutually contradictory.

4. Minor particulars, such as mention of John's friend Nicodemus, of the women who accompanied Mary Magdalene to the tomb, the purpose of her visit and the like. These may be disregarded as either apocryphal or of no significance.

We are left then with a very few plain statements upon which to build a theory.

Present at the crucifixion and doubtless at the burial were Mary mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene and perhaps a few other women. The morning after the Passover Sabbath Mary Magdalene, propably alone, went to the sepulcher and found it empty with the

stone rolled away from the entrance. Puzzled and alarmed she hurried to the disciples with the news. The latter, hastening to the tomb, verified her story and then returned wondering to their rendezvous.

Joseph of Arimathæa, an influential man, rich and a disciple though perhaps not an avowed one, happened to possess a new rock-hewn tomb convenient to the place of crucifixion. He begged the body of Jesus from Pilate, removed it from the cross, wrapped it in linen and laid it away in the sepulcher late in the evening. He then, the proprietor of the tomb, the one figure that stands out in all narratives, disappears most unaccountably from the story.

In searching for the explanation of any mysterious occurrence all authorities agree upon one principle: he is most likely responsible who had both the motive and the opportunity to do the act in question. Let us apply this principle to Joseph of Arimathæa.

That he had ample opportunity to remove the body of Jesus is self-evident. He had hastened to secure its possession. He, by chance or otherwise, owned the tomb, hence was familiar with its surroundings and had access to its site. He had placed the body in the tomb, had himself closed the entrance and could as easily unclose it. If he had not previously formed any design he had still two nights and a day in which to plan and carry out the removal of the body, and he was too high in station to be readily an object of suspicion or the subject of an inquiry. For him and apparently for him alone, the abstraction of the body was both safe and feasible.

The motive is not so evident, yet it too becomes apparent upon consideration. Joseph was undoubtedly a well-informed Jew, hence familiar with Messianic prophecies. He was likewise presumably acquainted with any remarks Jesus may have made in regard to his inevitable fate, and with the young Rabbi's views of life after death. He was committed to the new doctrine. He no doubt felt all the dislike which a man in his station, rich, educated, influential, would naturally feel of being made ridiculous, of being proved a dupe, and he must have realized keenly what Jesus in his exaltation disregarded, that the Master's ignominious death would overwhelm his sect in contumely and contempt. He had a great affection for Jesus, which implies an antagonism toward his persecutors whose bigotry he probably recognized, had perchance suffered from. He felt that the only hope of relief from the intolerable burden of Jewish orthodoxy was in the success of some such movement as this one promoted by Jesus, and therefore believed that its failure would irretrievably ruin the cause of liberalism. He could easily guess that

the disappearance of the body of Jesus, especially if a few judicious hints were dropped of fulfilment of prophecies, of appearances of the risen Lord, would inflame the disciples, already taught to expect the immediate end of the world and the arrival of the kingdom, with a burning faith which might triumph over every obstacle. The disciples were now depressed and despondent, but not yet ready to surrender all the teachings of their beloved Master and admit that he and they were deceived. One ray of light, one possible explanation offered them and they would blaze into renewed enthusiasm during which at the worst he might gracefully retire. Joseph had all to gain and nothing to risk. It was worth the trial.

Such thoughts as these might easily have passed through his mind and led him to the attempt. That he kept in the background and out of the story but supports this hypothesis. Having started the conflagration he would want no attention directed toward himself. Let matters take their course, his triumph was complete.

If this explanation be conceived as possible, and that is all the claim that is made, subsequent events become understandable. The absence of definite facts about the resurrection combined with an unshakable belief in its reality would most certainly give rise in that uncritical and superstitious age to the many legends of what happened at the sepulcher and of later apparitions of Jesus, legends which infallibly would be in contradiction one with another, having no truth to which they need conform. A story of an ascension would spring up to dispose of the risen Christ, and very likely real incidents, however magnified, in the life of Jesus would be transferred to a time after his death, as for instance John's account of the draught of fishes.

Not only are the legends accounted for but the facts, or what may be accepted as facts, are explained. The depression and despair of the disciples followed so soon by their aggressive and triumphant belief; their willingness to suffer torture and death for their faith; their power in the conversion of both Jew and Gentile; their confident appeal to eye-witnesses of these things "not done in a corner"; all these are so many proofs of their sincerity. The solution here outlined seeks to be a rational explanation of the problem, one that makes of the apostles neither fools nor hypocrites and yet relieves us to-day of any necessity of accepting traditional orthodoxy.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA.

BY GILBERT REID.

FOR years China politically has been in a state of flux. Withal she has steadily progressed. Could she be as free in independent action as Japan has been since the days of restoration, her future would be full of hope. She has determination and ability enough to surmount all internal difficulties. What perplexes and threatens her is the continuance of interference and dictation from without.

China reached her depth in reactionary blindness during the Boxer upheaval of 1900, though this had its birth in excessive intrusion of European powers. Soon the blindness disappeared, and China's eyes were opened. The reforms undertaken by the Emperor Kuang-hsü in 1898 were re-started under the patronage of the old empress dowager. Even after her death and that of the emperor the reform movement continued under the patronage of the prince regent, brother of the late deceased emperor. A program of constitutional government—a monarchy of course, but a limited monarchy—was, in the orderly manner of the Chinese, being carried forward unto completion. The time for completion, including two houses of representative parliament, was 1912, or not later than 1913.

But what happened? Nothing less than a revolution to overturn this very progressiveness. The so-called reform party of Kang Yiu-wei and Liang Chi-ch'iao favored a constitutional monarchy, though still critical of the corrupt political practices, which, strange to say, even increased in the atmosphere of progress. The distinctive revolutionary party under the leadership of Dr. Sun Wen could not countenance the Manchus, in spite of their adherence to constitutionalism. Though the majority of officials were Chinese, and though the Manchu race had long since been absorbed into the Chinese way of thinking, yet the dynasty was Manchu, and this irritated the

Chinese who in spirit were revolutionary, and yet, from a better point of view, patriotic.

With the revolution there came the establishment of a republic. Apparently this was the will of the people; but as a matter of fact only a few, and they the leaders in the revolution, decided the question. There was at the time only one drawback to a real republic under these revolutionary leaders. Yuan Shih-k'ai, who had come forth from retirement, and was for the time being the voice of the Manchu government, must be considered by revolutionists as well as by Manchus, if the whole country was to have one government. He preferred a constitutional monarchy, even to the retention of the Manchu boy-emperor. The Manchu government had no revenue for continuing the war against the revolutionists, and the revolutionists on their side insisted that the Manchu emperor retire, and that a republic be established. The result is known; Yuan Shih-k'ai became the first president of the republic, while the boy-emperor is still an emperor, though not of China, and still lives in the old palace. Yuan Shih-k'ai has sworn to abide by the provisional constitution, which meant a republic and not a monarchy. He also received the government at the hands of the Manchus. Meanwhile the final constitution has awaited future action.

The pro-republic set of officers, whether in Peking or in the provinces, failed to live up to their great responsibilities. As a class they were more corrupt than those who had served under the Manchu rule. The people, and even the merchant class, felt that the republic was something of a delusion. The president went so far as to dismiss the two houses of parliament. A clash in the form of the second revolution came between President Yuan and the anti-Yuan faction. The President won, and the old revolutionary element, which had argued for a republic, disappeared. Only a few remained who were strenuous for a republic, while opposing the second revolution. The military throughout the country from then till now has been composed of northern troops and Yuan's men. The civil officers of the government have more and more been pro-Yuan rather than pro-republic or pro-monarchy.

Thus it is that enthusiasm for a republic has died out, and in some cases the first enthusiasm has turned into a feeling of disgust. The inadvisability of advocating a monarchy, even of a limited kind, during the period of revolution has disappeared, and men who think carefully on these things have dared to argue that a monarchy is more suited to China than a republic. With the monarchical form of state China is familiar, with the other she has no

acquaintance, except through a few students from America and France.

Early in 1914 there were a few who argued that the boy-emperor should again be recognized as the emperor of the whole country, with a strong Chinese premier like Yuan Shih-k'ai. The opposition was too great, coming both from those hostile to the Manchus, and those hostile to a return to a monarchy. There were some who favored a monarchy but did not want a restoration; they wanted a new and a Chinese dynasty, with President Yuan as first emperor. The agitation for the boy-emperor soon died away; even President Yuan discountenanced the restoration.

In the autumn of 1915, after suffering humiliation at the hands of Japan, to whom China was compelled to yield up many of her rights and guarantees of security, a number of the government authorities suddenly opened up anew the question as to whether a republic or monarchy was more suited to the country. It was at first stated to be only an academic question. It soon became a strong political movement. The final constitution was soon to be determined, and of necessity it must be determined first of all whether the state shall be monarchical or republican. From the outset the president refused to interfere. The question was for the people and the people's representatives to decide. As for himself, he declared, so long as he remained president he must support the republic. The name or status of emperor he sought not for himself or his sons.

The agitation however has been not only for a monarchy but for Yuan as emperor. The military and civil governors have all petitioned to this effect. Few have dared to speak contrary. Liang Chi-ch'iao, though originally an advocate of a monarchical form of state, has argued that the existing government should not be overturned. He stands opposed to both a peaceful and a bloody revolution. The republic, being started, should be upheld. There are many of the younger element who want the republic fairly tried. Others have supported with a faint voice the monarchical idea, but only as a restoration. They are of the minority. Naturally they have hesitated to declare openly against the president. Moreover the representatives of the people in all the provinces have not really been representative of the people any more than those who decided matters in the first revolution. The men selected have cast their votes as their superiors gave the hint. The whole country in this peculiar fashion has decided for a monarchy and for Yuan Shih-k'ai

as first emperor. Probably the common people are only concerned in having protection for their lives and business.

In the midst of all this movement, entirely a Chinese matter and no concern of foreign powers, one side of the warring nations, Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, under the leadership of Japan, issued a warning to China that the change of government be delayed, lest an uprising take place. Japan has also made it clear that if the advice is not accepted she may find it necessary to take further measures for enforcing compliance. Japan's previous dictation as to rights and privileges in Mongolia, Manchuria, Shantung, Fukien and Central China, has taught China that for the present she must submit to the rule of force. So this question as to which form of state is more suited to China, a monarchy or a republic, is not left to China alone to determine.

Following this first intrusion the same powers have made it appear that it would be well for China to join their Entente, in opposition to Germany and to all rights and privileges accorded to Germany by China. This scheme, which originated more from England than from Japan, has amounted to nothing save a stirring of Japan's suspicions to the discredit of England and the harm of China. It would have been better if all proposals for taking sides with any set of belligerents had from the start been discountenanced by China and she had remained completely neutral. Through all this scheming Germany has remained unruffled, but Japan has taken offense and has vented her wrath on China rather than on England.

Other warnings have been issued to the Peking government, always under the leadership of Japan. She does not propose to "take a back seat," having through the fortunes of war suddenly sprung to the front. She has convinced Americans that her policy is sound and righteous, because she too has a Monroe doctrine for Asia, and Americans fail to understand that this doctrine, rightly applied, does not authorize perpetual intermeddling in the internal affairs of a great country, and a neighbor too like China. Still less is Japan authorized to plot the subjugation of China.

The first warning from this group of nations was based on the fear that the agitation for a monarchy would lead to disturbances and perhaps another revolution. This was enough to encourage the revolutionists to go ahead, knowing that an uprising would only prove that Japan in her forecast was right.

The disturbances, according to book, have arisen. The government in Peking still continued to push ahead its monarchical program and to arrange for enthronement. Japan therefore let it be

known that so long as the new revolution was unchecked the enthronement would be an offense to Japan's dignity and to her kindly advice. Japan probably would then recognize the revolutionists as representing the true republic, and the Japanese minister would be withdrawn from Peking. The only thing then for China to do was to postpone the enthronement and proceed to suppress all disturbances, which are encouraged by many Japanese.

Sufficient is known to prove that Japan means no good to China. China has as much right to decide her form of government as Japan has her form. Chinese revolutionists should no more be helped by Japan than Japanese anarchists should be helped by China.

The danger came at the outset of the great war, when England appealed to Japan to eliminate Germany from China and thus withdraw one friend and put in place one not a friend but more and more a reinvigorated foe.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PASSING OF CARMEN SYLVA.

The daily press announced the death of Elizabeth, Queen of Roumania, well known and highly respected the world over, not only as a worthy representative of European royalty, but what is more, as a poet. She came of an old German noble family bearing a princely title,—sovereign rulers, but not however of the highest rank of nobility. Nevertheless she was destined by fate to rise to the dignity of a queen. In her maiden years she was wooed by a German prince, a member of the Swabian Hohenzollern, the second and less important branch of the imperial family of Germany, and in the course of events it happened that the Roumanian people called this same prince to the throne of Roumania. The young Princess of Wied yielded to her noble suitor with reluctance, and so it happened that the young German poetess ascended a throne and achieved the distinction of royalty. She never wrote over her own name, but used the pseudonym "Carmen Sylva," and in all parts of the world she was better known by this name than by her real titles of princess and queen.

Carmen Sylva had friends and sympathizers not only throughout her native country, Germany, and in Roumania, but also in many other lands, and in literary circles everywhere her name was a name of honor. Nor was she distinguished only in the field of literature; she was widely known as a patron of the arts and sciences as well, and of humanitarian effort. She always showed her sympathy with the modern woman's movement, and it was in the interests of this that she wrote a poem for publication on the occasion of the Hague Conference, held a few years ago for the furtherance of that cause. The poem, which sets forth the right of mothers not to sacrifice their sons in international struggles between nations, was written before the war, and it may be of interest now to read the protest of a mother against surrendering the lives of her sons. The ideal she presents is one whose fulfilment is devoutly to be desired, but so long as this world is a world of struggle it will scarcely be realized, and we do not believe that her sentiments fulfil the expectations which in times of crisis we may hold of mothers. It is certain that the mothers of her own country have been compelled by circumstances to offer this most terrible of sacrifices on the altar of the fatherland.

The protest of Carmen Sylva is here reproduced in her own handwriting, and we append, with a few alterations, a translation of it as found in the publication of the International Woman's Demonstration.

Für's Vaterland! Für's Vaterland
sind unsere Köpfe! Nicht!
das Blut, das unser Blut, die Hand,
der Geist, die Kraft die Pflicht —

Für's Vaterland in Freiheit
die jauchzend Garben Pflug!
das unsere Kinder vor der Zeit
gemäht um seinen Tag, —

Und wir in Todesqual geschmückt
mit Wunden brennen, groß —
das Feld von ihrem Blut getränkt
Ihr Gräber in Verwesung,

Nicht fragt's von den Müttern mehr!
Von Tränen rauhe wie!
das junge große Opferheer
Ihr Kinderschauer für sie!

Für's Vaterland die Heldentat,
die Früchte der Arbeitsjahre!
das unser Garben Todessaat
Vergessen ist wie nichts, o Land!

Und Greisen nennen Enkel: Feind!
das nicht ein Lügenwahn!
die lagen sie so schmerzgepeinigt,
und hielten sie gebannt!

Und fragen: Mütter! — Leise still
mit blassen Lippen. — Stein,
das Vaterland! Sie sorgt! will
einst wieder Leben sein!

Carmen Sylva

Bucarest, 13. Mai 1899

"For Fatherland, for Fatherland
Are all our sons—their powers
Of mind and soul, their strength of hand—
But not their blood—'tis ours!

"For Fatherland eternally
Be every true heart's beat!
Yet, ere their time cut off, to see
Our sons slain at our feet—

"Those to whom we've given birth
Whom reared with tender care,
Their heart's blood to bedew the earth,
To sleep their last sleep there—

"This of a mother ask no more!
Speak not of enemies!
In hostile troops led forth to war
But mothers' sons she sees!

"Triumphs of science, useful arts
Be for our native land—
But sacrifice that breaks our hearts
It never will demand.

"Christians have called their brother foe!
Save in the sick-ward.—There
United in their pain and woe
They whispered but one prayer.

"The one word "Mother!" loud or low
On pale lips trembled. Nay,
The Earth, our Fatherland, will know
Yet Eden's peace one day."

CONSTANTINE CONSTANTINOVITCH.

Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovitch, whose drama, *The King of the Jews,* is discussed elsewhere in this number, died on June 15, 1915, in St. Petersburg of heart-disease at the age of fifty-seven years. He was born in 1858, and married Princess Elizabeth of Saxe-Altenburg, Germany, a school-friend of the German empress, in 1884.

As a member of the reigning family and general of infantry the grand duke was one of the commanding figures in the Russian nobility, and one of the most influential men around the czar. He was severely arraigned with other grand dukes in 1908 for attempting to influence the actions of the Duma. He was also not immune from revolutionist plots. The previous year an attempt had been made to blow up at Orel the train on which he was a passenger. When the present war broke out he and his wife with their children were at Willungen in Germany for their health, and had to leave the hostile country. It is believed that he was strongly opposed to the war and that his death was due to the sudden shock the outbreak of hostilities between his country and Germany gave him. Who knows whether he might not have been able to prevent the war if he had been in St. Petersburg in July, 1914.

Grand Duke Constantine represented that type of a Russian in higher circles which is highly respected by the Western world. He had little of the Tartar and more than a mere veneer of civilization, and his sudden death at this critical hour was a severe blow for the intellectual, liberal party in Russia. Providence was indeed favorable to him in taking him away before he could live to see the misfortunes of his country.

President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and head of the Department of Military Schools, Constantine Constantinovitch was the most educated and scholarly man in the imperial family, and throughout his lifetime was deeply interested in the sciences, arts and letters. He was noted as a Shakespearean scholar and translated Hamlet into Russian. He also had this play staged for the imperial family and he played the title-role. It was said in

1907 that his constant study of the melancholy Dane had preyed upon his mind until he became insane and was ordered under restraint by the czar. (Was the czar of all the Russias afraid of his influence?) Emperor Nicholas issued a decree appointing his younger brother Demetrius guardian of his eight children, but later the grand duke was reported to have recovered from his mental aberration. (In other words, pressure was brought upon Little Father, and he had to yield to the general clamor of the St. Petersburg aristocracy.)

THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE.

He was also the author of several popular volumes of poems and dramas, all of which are signed "K. K." (= Konstantin Konstantinovitch).

Besides Hamlet he also staged his play, *The Bride of Messina,* in 1909, and his sacred drama, *The King of the Jews,* in 1913-4, before Emperor Nicholas and the imperial family. In the latter play he took the role of Joseph of Arimathaea. With regard to the latter see Dr. M. J. Rudwin's article on "Modern Passion Plays" on another page of this issue.

MR. WHITZEL ON THE RESURRECTION.

In publishing Mr. Frank R. Whitzel's suggestion entitled "Possible Origin of the Resurrection Story," I wish to say that he certainly does not underrate the significance of the part which Joseph of Arimathæa plays in the disposal of the body of Christ, and he points out that this mysterious figure disappears suddenly and definitely from view. It is improbable, however, that this rich man should have followed a clear plan with a purpose that indicates a deep foresight of a great movement such as actually took place in the origin of Christianity and the foundation of the church. But there is another possibility, suggested some years ago by Dr. Paul Schwartzkopff of Wernigerode, who asked himself the question, what can have been the motive of Joseph of Arimathæa in demanding the body of Jesus from Pontius Pilate? Joseph is regarded in tradition as a disciple, but it is neither probable that he had met Jesus before the crucifixion nor that he joined the Nazarenes afterwards. We would most certainly have been informed of it in the Acts of the Apostles. It is probable therefore that he was an outsider, and his motive for procuring the body of Jesus was not because he was a believer. Schwartzkopff calls attention to the superstition prevalent in ancient times, verifying it by quotations, that a violent death conveys magical powers. The nail used in crucifixion, the wood of the cross, the ropes with which a criminal has been hanged, etc., can be used and have been used for exorcism. The bodies of men who died an unnatural death were believed to be a protection against demons or evil spirits. Such remains would therefore be thought of value to safeguard a tomb; and it would thus seem probable that Joseph had some such thought in mind, and that, being afraid lest some one else might steal the body, he took it out of the tomb and hid it in a secret place. The resurrection story of Mark closes with the statement that the women found the grave empty; and, following this abrupt conclusion, there is appended the concluding portion of Mark, which is drawn from another source. P. C.

SOME RECENT FRENCH BOOKS ON THE GREAT WAR.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

The Paris press, like those of most other countries, has been teeming, during the past year, with books and pamphlets on the great war. I propose, in this article, to touch briefly on some of these publications, all of which, of course, present events from the pro-Allies standpoint.

Six mois de guerre (Paris, Hachette, 3 frs. 50), by the veteran Paris journalist, M. Gaston Jollivet, is excellently planned and covers the period extending from August, 1914, to February, 1915. It consists of the official reports issued by the French general headquarters and the chief ones given out by the German headquarters; of the principal political and diplomatic events which have happened among the warring and neutral nations; of extracts from official documents, speeches of prominent public men, articles from leading reviews and newspapers, etc.; of side-lights on the conflict, such as matters concerning hospitals, prisoners, heroic actions, etc. The book contains plans and maps, and is a real *vade-mecum* for the present war. It will probably be followed by several other similar volumes. In fact the second of the series is now being prepared.

M. Jollivet's book of facts is well supplemented and completed by *L'Alle-*

magne contre l'Europe (Paris, Perrin, 3 frs. 50), which is more the philosophy of the contest. This highly instructive volume from the pen of M. Francis Charmes, of the French Academy, is made up of the political *chroniques* which appear every fortnight at the end of the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* of which M. Charmes is the editor. Divided up into chapters, with proper headings, they form a connected, very readable and exceedingly instructive whole. When it is remembered that M. Charmes, besides being an academician, is a senator and has held very high office in the French Foreign Office, it will be seen that he speaks with more than ordinary authority in these pages, which are perhaps the weightiest contribution from the French side to the contemporary literature of the war.

These two volumes are still further supplemented and completed by *Les causes et les conséquences de la guerre* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 3 frs. 50), by M. Yves Guyot, formerly Minister of Public Works and now editor of the *Journal des Economistes.* This veteran French free trader, by a political and economical study of the causes, both recent and remote of the war, aims in this book at an examination of the conditions which must be observed for the preparation of lasting peace. M. Guyot considers that it is indispensable that the public mind should be drawn to the consideration of these questions in such manner that the fate of Europe may not be abandoned to esoteric diplomacy. He sets forth some of the errors committed by such diplomacy, as for instance in 1815 and in 1878, errors which are the origin of the present war. The book contains five parts: the political causes of the war; the economical causes of the war; the historical causes: constitution of the German empire; the historical causes: the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; the consequences. M. Guyot examines theories as to race and nationality, the claims and falsehoods of historical law, and he criticizes certain traditional phrases used in the vocabulary of international law. He points out, according to Bentham's conception, the necessity of a utilitarian policy. This book is a manual for statesmen who may be called upon to settle the conditions of peace.

Several of the points treated by M. Guyot are taken up in *La guerre* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 3 frs. 50), a volume of lectures delivered at the well-known School of Political Sciences in the Rue Saint Guillaume, Paris. Prof. Emile Bourgeois examines the question of the origin of the war, placing the blame on Germany; M. Louis Renault discusses international law in its bearing on the conflict; General Malleterre, who has just recovered from a severe wound, presents the French side of the battle of the Marne; M. Raphael G. Lévy treats of the financial questions which concern the belligerents, and M. Daniel Bellet goes into the bearing of modern industry on war.

One of the best authorities in France on Germany is unquestionably M. Georges Blondel, professor at this same School of Political Sciences. Before the war broke out he had written more than half a dozen volumes touching on different aspects of Germany, the most notable of which books is perhaps, considering what has since transpired, *Les embarras de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 3 frs. 50), which appeared just two years before the war broke out and which immediately went through six editions. It should be read by all those who would know the fundamental causes of the war in so far as Germany is concerned and from the French point of view. M. Blondel seems to have felt what was coming. Much that he says shows a friendliness for Germany and some of his criticisms would be accepted by all fair-minded Germans.

The volume to which we have just referred leads up to the author's recent one, fresh from the press, *La doctrine pangermaniste* (Paris, *Chapelot,* 1 fr.), which is a study of the more immediate cause of the war, the development of the idea of the superiority of Germany in the civilization of to-day and the consequences springing therefrom. The spirit of the book is found in the very last lines: "All those who have at heart the progress of civilization are convinced to-day that the destruction of the Pangermanist doctrines is necessary to insure the triumph of liberty over tyranny, respect for the feeble, the preservation of small nations and the victory of right."

Problèmes de politique et finances de guerre (Paris, Félix Alcan, 3 frs. 50) is also a collection of lectures delivered at one of the special schools of Paris,—that of Superior Social Studies. The lecturers were Professor Jèze, Barthélemy and Rist of the Paris Law School, and Professor Rolland of the Nancy Law School. The questions treated have to do with the financial, political, administrative and economic problems brought up for solution by the present struggle. The only one of these lectures touching directly on Germany is the last one, "How Germany Has Maintained its Economic Life During the War," by Professor Rist, who says that the success of her plan depended upon a short and victorious war, while a long and uncertain one may upset all her calculations.

In *D'Agadir à Sarajevo* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 2 frs. 50), the French publicist M. Pierre Albin, who has already published two volumes on Germany, traces in this new one the history of the military and political development of the empire during the past three or four years. All the facts, especially those concerning Germany, which led up to the present catastrophe, are here given in a clear and connected manner. An excellent chronological table at the end of the volume is of great use to the reader. This book is especially valuable in its presentation of the origin, scope and consequences of the various alliances, treaties and *ententes* which have characterized international politics during the past quarter of a century.

La guerre devant le Palais (Paris, Ollendorff, 2 frs.), by M. Gabriel Mourey, conservator of the State Palace at Compiègne, is one of the many admirable monographs on the war which are now beginning to appear in large numbers all over Europe. It is a well-told account, by a practiced writer, of what happened at Compiègne between the beginning of August and the middle of September, 1914, during the on-rush of the Germans from Belgium to Paris. Many curious details are given, all told in a language as delicate and artistic as it is full of feeling and ardent patriotism. Let us hope that the many monographs to come will be modeled after this one.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

SOCRATES: MASTER OF LIFE. By *William Ellery Leonard.* Pages, 118. Cloth, $1.00.

"Great men taken up in any way," Carlyle assures us, "are profitable company." But Carlyle was sure of his Yea and Nay, and what thoughtful man of the present is? Not long ago, it is true, we could prate of progress, efficiency, and what not? scorning to reply, or replying with a condescending smile, when asked whither we were progressing or for what we were efficient. Now, however, we have been sobered by the catastrophe which overtook the human family a year ago last August, and, like the man who would listen to

reason after he had been knocked down, we are in a receptive state of mind. Everywhere men and women are asking, *cui bono?*

Most opportunely, therefore, appears *Socrates: Master of Life,* by William Ellery Leonard. In this little volume of scarcely more than a hundred pages, issued by the Open Court Publishing Company, the story of Socrates, his times, his life, his ideas, his influences, is told in a manner so simple, so sincere, and yet so graphic, that one is charmed out of the agitated present and led over stretches of space and centuries of time to the "glory that was Greece," and into the presence of Socrates, Master of Life. And it all seems quite natural; the shock is in coming back to the States and to 1915.

"That Socrates was born at Athens in 469 may," as the author says, "be a line of print, a point of departure for a lecture in philosophy, or a vision of life. It is one thing to string together a number of facts like beads on a thread, and many there be of us who know how to do it. It is another thing to weave an appealing story out of the imagination and few of us know the art. And it is yet another thing, and one still more rarely accomplished, to rescue from gluttonous Time an actual figure or period of history and to bring it to us in something of its true proportions and clothed with somewhat of the warmth and intimacy (to borrow three words from William James) characteristic of experiences which we call our own. And just this Professor Leonard succeeds in doing. Neither poet without philosophical insight, nor philosopher without poetic genius, could have written the little volume before us. Combined as they are in the author, the result is a portrait of Socrates whose "moral grandeur still towers over Athens and her shattered temple to rebuke the world."

The book makes no pretensions to original philological discoveries, although it rests evidently upon a first-hand reading, with critical meditation, of the Greek sources. Nor is there any hint that the author intended the chapters devoted to the consideration of Socrates's philosophical significance to be received as a full and final treatment of this large subject. Although offering an original critical interpretation of Socrates's personality and ideas, the author is not technical in his method or treatment. The book is addressed to the thoughtful reader, for whom, as the prefatory note says, Socrates has become "too often but a name or an anecdote." M. C. Otto,

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Mr. Theodore Stanton writes us as follows from Paris:

Your first article in the October *Open Court,* "Victor Hugo's Estimate of Germany," contains two rather important errors, which I have waited, but in vain, for somebody else to correct. In the first paragraph of your introduction to the poet's "Choix entre les deux nations," from his volume, *L'année terrible,* you say that, in his eulogy of Germany, he calls her "the greatest of all nations." This is incorrect, and is based on a wrong translation, found four pages further on, where the first line of Victor Hugo's poem,

"Aucune nation n'est plus grande que toi,"

is given as,

"No nation is so great as thou";

whereas it should read,

"No nation is greater than thou,"

which is quite another thing.

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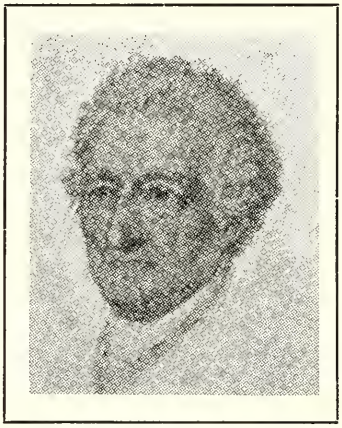
Pp. 357; Illustrations 185; Cloth, Gilt Top, $3.00 Net



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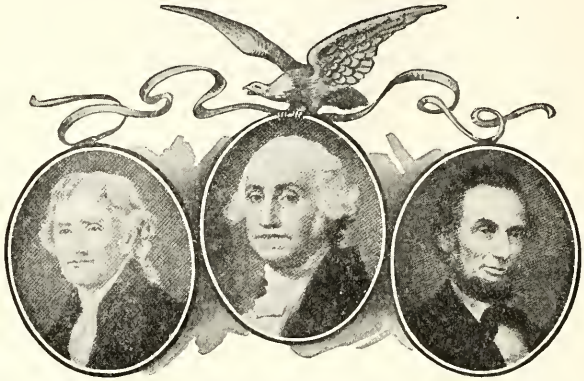

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